

THE
WORKS
OF
Dr JONATHAN SWIFT,
Dean of ST. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN.
VOLUME II.

EDINBURGH:

Printed for A. DONALDSON, at Pope's Head.

MDCCLXI.



VOLUME II.

Printed by A. D. BARNES & CO. 10, N. B. ST. 1854.

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The PREFACE prefixed to POPE's and
SWIFT's Miscellanies, in 4 volumes
12mo, 1727.

THE papers that compose the first of these volumes were printed about eighteen years ago; to which there are now added two or three small tracts; and the verses are transferred into the fourth volume apart, with the addition of such others as we since have written. The second and third will consist of several small treatises in prose, in which a friend or two is concerned with us.

Having both of us been extremely ill treated by some booksellers, especially one Edmund Curll, it was our opinion, that the best method we could take for justifying ourselves, would be to publish whatever loose papers, in prose and verse, we have formerly written; not only such as have already stole into the world (very much to our regret, and perhaps very little to our credit), but such as in any probability hereafter may run the same fate; having been obtained from us by the importunity, and divulged by the indiscretion of friends, although restrained by promises, which few of them are ever known to observe, and often think they make us a compliment in breaking.

But the consequences have been still worse: we have been intitled, and have had our names prefixed at length, to whole volumes of mean productions, equally offensive to good manners and good sense, which we never saw nor heard of till they appeared in print.

For a *forgery* in setting a false name to a writing, which may prejudice another's fortune, the law punishes the offender with the loss of his *ears*; but has inflicted no adequate penalty for such as prejudice another's reputation in doing the same thing in print; though all and every individual book, so sold under a false name, are manifestly so many several and multiplied forgeries.

Indeed we hoped, that the good nature, or at least the good judgment of the world, would have cleared us from the imputation of such things, as had been thus

charged upon us by the malice of enemies, the want of judgment in friends, the unconcern of indifferent persons, and the confident assertions of booksellers.

We are ashamed to find so ill a taste prevail, as to make it a necessary work to do this justice to ourselves. It is very possible for any author to write below himself; either his subject not proving so fruitful, or fitted for him, as he at first imagined; or his health, or his humour, or the present disposition of his mind, unqualifying him at that juncture: however, if he possessed any distinguishing marks of style, or peculiarity of thinking, there would remain in his least successful writings some few tokens, whereby persons of taste might discover him.

But since it hath otherwise fallen out, we think we have sufficiently paid for our want of prudence, and determine for the future to be less communicative: or rather, having done with such amusements, we are resolved to give up what we cannot fairly disown, to the severity of critics, the malice of personal enemies, and the indulgence of friends.

We are sorry for the satire interspersed in some of these pieces upon a few people, from whom the highest provocations have been received, and who, by their conduct since, have shewn, that they have not yet forgiven us the wrong they did. It is a very unlucky circumstance, to be obliged to retaliate the injuries of such authors, whose works are so soon forgotten, that we are in danger already of appearing the first aggressors. It is to be lamented, that Virgil let pass a line, which told posterity he had two enemies, called Bavius and Mævius. The wisest way is not once to name them, but (as the madman advised the gentleman, who told him he wore a sword to kill his enemies), *to let them alone, and they would die of themselves.* And according to this rule we have acted throughout all those writings which we designed for the press: but in these, the publication whereof was not owing to our folly, but that of others, the omission of the names was not in our power. At the worst we can only give them that liberty now for something, which they have so many years exercised for nothing, of railing and scribbling against us. And it is some commendation, that we have not done it all this while, but avoided

avoided publicly to characterise any person without long experience. *Nonnum prematur in annum*, is a good rule for all writers, but chiefly for writers of characters; because it may happen to those who vent praise or censure too precipitately, as it did to an eminent English poet, who celebrated a young nobleman for erecting Dryden's monument upon a promise, which his Lordship forgot, till it was done by another.

In regard to two persons only we wish our raillery, though ever so tender, or resentment, though ever so just, had not been indulged. We speak of Sir John Vanbrugh, who was a man of wit, and of honour; and of Mr Addison, whose name deserves all respect from every lover of learning.

We cannot deny (and perhaps most writers of our kind have been in the same circumstances) that in several parts of our lives, and according to the dispositions we were in, we have written some things which we may wish never to have thought on. Some sallies of levity ought to be imputed to youth, (supposed in charity, as it was in truth, to be the time in which we wrote them); others to the gaiety of our minds at certain junctures common to all men. The publishing of these, which we cannot disown, and without our consent, is, I think, a greater injury, than that of ascribing to us the most stupid productions, which we can wholly deny.

This has been usually practised in other countries after a man's decease; which in a great measure accounts for that manifest *inequality* found in the works of the best authors; the collectors only considering, that so many more sheets raise the price of the book; and the greater fame a writer is in possession of, the more of such trash he may bear to have tacked to him. Thus it is apparently the editor's interest to insert what the author's judgment had rejected; and care is always taken to interperse these additions in such a manner, that scarce any book of consequence can be bought, without purchasing something unworthy of the author along with it.

But in our own country it is still worse: those very booksellers, who have supported themselves upon an author's fame while he lived, have done their utmost after his death to lessen it by such practices: even a man's *last*

will is not secure from being exposed in print; whereby his most particular regards, and even his dying tender-
nesses, are laid open. It has been humorously said, that
some have fished the very jakes for papers left there by
men of wit: but it is no jest to affirm, that the cabinets
of the sick, and the closets of the dead, have been broke
open and ransacked to publish our *private letters*, and
divulged to all mankind the most secret sentiments and
intercourse of friendship. Nay, these fellows are arrived
to that height of impudence, that when an author has
publicly disowned a spurious piece, they have disputed
his own name with him in printed advertisements; which
has been practised to Mr Congreve and Mr Prior.

We are therefore compelled, in respect to truth, to
submit to a very great hardship; to own such pieces as
in our stricter judgments we would have suppressed for
ever: we are obliged to confess, that this whole collec-
tion, in a manner, consists of what we not only thought
unlikely to reach the future, but unworthy even of the
present age; not our studies, but our follies; not our
works, but our idlenesses.

Some comfort however it is, that all of them are in-
nocent, and most of them, slight as they are, had yet
a moral tendency; either to soften the virulence of par-
ties against each other; or to laugh out of countenance
some vice or folly of the time; or to discredit the imposi-
tions of quacks and false pretenders to science; or to
humble the arrogance of the ill-natured and envious; in
a word, to lessen the *vanity*, and promote the good hu-
mour of mankind.

Such as they are, we must in truth confess, they are
ours, and others should in justice believe, they are *all*
that are *ours*. If any thing else has been printed, in
which we really had any hand, it is either intolerably
imperfect, or loaded with spurious additions; sometimes
even with insertions of mens names, which we never
meant, and for whom we have an esteem and respect.
Even those pieces in which we are least injured, have
never before been printed from the true copies, or with
any tolerable degree of correctness. We declare, that
this collection contains every piece, which in the idlest
humour we have written; not only such as came under
our

our review or correction; but many others, which, however unfinished, are not now in our power to suppress. Whatsoever was in our own possession at the publishing hereof, or of which no copy was gone abroad, we have actually destroyed, to prevent all possibility of the like treatment.

These volumes likewise will contain all the papers wherein we have casually had any share; particularly those written in conjunction with our friends, Dr Arbuthnot and Mr Gay; and, lastly, all of this sort composed singly by either of those hands. The reader is therefore desired to do the same justice to these our friends, as to us; and to be assured, that all the *things* called our *miscellanies* (except the works of Alexander Pope, published by B. Lintot, in *quarto* and *folio*, in 1717; those of Mr Gay by J. Tonson, in *quarto*, in 1720; and as many of these miscellanies as have been formerly printed by Benj. Tooke) are absolutely spurious, and without our consent imposed upon the public.

Twickenham,
May 27. 1727.

JONATH. SWIFT.
ALEX. POPE.

A Discourse of the CONTESTS and DISSENSIONS between the NOBLES and the COMMONS in ATHENS and ROME ; with the consequences they had upon both those states *.

— *Si tibi vera videtur,*
Dede manus ; et, si falsa est, accingere contra. Lucret.

Written in the year 1701.

C H A P. I.

IT is agreed, that in all government there is an absolute unlimited power, which naturally and originally seems to be placed in the whole body, where-ever the executive part of it lies. This holds in the body natural ; for where-ever we place the beginning

* This discourse is a kind of remonstrance in behalf of King William and his friends, against the proceedings of the house of Commons ; and was published during the recess of parliament in the summer of 1701, with a view to engage them in milder measure when they should meet again.

As this time Lewis XIV. was making large strides towards universal monarchy ; plots were carrying on at St Germain's ; the Dutch had acknowledged the Duke of Anjou as King of Spain, and King William was made extremely uneasy by the violence with which many of his ministers and chief favourites were pursued by the Commons ; the King, to appease their resentment, had made several changes in his ministry, and removed some of his most faithful servants from places of the highest trust and dignity : this expedient, however, had proved ineffectual, and the Commons persisted in their opposition ; they began by impeaching William Bentinck, Earl of Portland, Groom of the Stole ; and proceeded to the impeachment of John Somers, Baron Somers of Evesham, First Lord Keeper, afterwards Lord Chancellor ; Edward Russel, Earl of Orford, Lord Treasurer of the Navy, and one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty ; and

Charles.

ning of motion, whether from the head, or the heart, or the animal spirits in general, the body moves and acts by a consent of all its parts. This unlimited power, placed fundamentally in the body of a people, is what the best legislators of all ages have endeavoured, in their several schemes or institutions of government, to deposit in such hands as would preserve the people from rapine and oppression within, as well as violence from without. Most of them seem to agree in this, that it was a trust too great to be committed to any one man or assembly, and therefore they left the right still in the whole body; but the administration or executive part in the hands of the *one*, the *few*, or the *many*, into which three powers all independent bodies of men seem naturally to divide; for by all I have read of those innumerable and petty commonwealths in Italy, Greece, and Sicily, as well as the great ones of Carthage and Rome, it seems to me, that a free people met together, whether by *compact*, or *family-government*, as soon as they fall into any acts of civil society, do of themselves divide into three powers. The first is that of some one eminent spirit, who, having signalized his valour and fortune in defence of his country, or by the practice of popular arts at home, comes to have great influence on the people, to grow their leader in warlike expeditions, and to preside, after a sort, in their civil assemblies; and this is grounded upon the principles of nature and common reason, which in all difficulties or dangers, where prudence or courage is required, do rather incite us to fly for counsel or assistance to a single person, than a multitude. The second natural division of power is of such men, who have acquired large posses-

Charles Montague, Earl of Halifax, one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, and afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer. Its general purport is to damp the warmth of the Commons, by shewing, that the measures they pursued had a direct tendency to bring on the tyranny which they professed to oppose; and the particular cases of the impeached Lords are paralleled in Athenian characters. *Hawkes.*

This whole treatise is full of historical knowledge, and excellent reflections. It is not mixed with any improper sallies of wit, or any light airs of humour; and, in point of style and learning, is equal, if not superior, to any of Swift's political works. *Or-rery.*

sions,

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sions, and consequently dependencies, or descend from ancestors who have left them great inheritances, together with an hereditary authority. These easily uniting in thoughts and opinions, and acting in concert, begin to enter upon measures for securing their properties, which are best upheld by preparing against invasions from abroad, and maintaining peace at home; this commences a great council or senate of nobles for the weighty affairs of the nation. The last division is of the mass or body of the people, whose part of power is great and indisputable, whenever they can unite either collectively, or by deputation, to exert it. Now, the three forms of government, so generally known in the schools, differ only by the civil administration being placed in the hands of one, or sometimes two, (as in Sparta), who were called *Kings*; or in a senate, who were called the *Nobles*; or in the people collective or representative, who may be called the *Commons*. Each of these had frequently the executive power in Greece, and sometimes in Rome; but the power in the last resort was always meant by legislators to be held in balance among all three. And it will be an eternal rule in politics among every free people, that there is a balance of power to be carefully held by every state within itself, as well as among several states with each other.

The true meaning of a balance of power, either without or within a state, is best conceived by considering what the nature of a balance is. It supposes three things: First, the part which is held, together with the hand that holds it; and then the two scales, with whatever is weighed therein. Now, consider several states in a neighbourhood; in order to preserve peace between these states, it is necessary they should be formed into a balance, whereof one or more are to be directors, who are to divide the rest into equal scales, and upon occasion remove from one into the other, or else fall with their own weight into the lightest; so in a state within itself, the balance must be held by a third hand, who is to deal the remaining power with the utmost exactness into the several scales. Now, it is not necessary, that the power should be equally divided between these three; for the balance may be held by the weakest, who, by his address
and

and conduct, removing from either scale, and adding of his own, may keep the scales duly poised. Such was that of the two Kings of Sparta, the consular power in Rome, that of the Kings of Media before the reign of Cyrus, as represented by Xenophon; and that of the several limited states in the Gothic institution.

When the balance is broken, whether by the negligence, folly, or weakness of the hand that held it, or by mighty weights fallen into either scale, the power will never continue long in equal division between the two remaining parties, but, till the balance is fixed anew, will run entirely into one. This gives the truest account of what is understood in the most ancient and approved Greek authors by the word *tyranny*, which is not meant for the seizing of the uncontrolled or absolute power into the hands of a single person, (as many superficial men have grossly mistaken), but for the breaking of the balance by whatever hand, and leaving the power wholly in one scale; for *tyranny* and *usurpation* in a state are by no means confined to any number, as might easily appear from examples enough; and because the point is material, I shall cite a few to prove it.

The Romans * having sent to Athens, and the Greek cities of Italy, for the copies of the best laws, chose ten legislators to put them into form, and, during the exercise of their office, suspended the consular power, leaving the administration of affairs in their hands. These very men, though chosen for such a work, as digesting a body of laws for the government of a free state, did immediately usurp arbitrary power; ran into all the forms of it, had their guards and spies after the practice of the tyrants of those ages, affected kingly state, destroyed the nobles, and oppressed the people; one of them proceeding so far, as to endeavour to force a lady of great virtue: the very crime which gave occasion to the expulsion of the regal power but sixty years before, as this attempt did to that of the Decemviri.

The Ephori in Sparta were at first only certain persons deputed by the kings to judge in civil matters,

* Dionys. Hal. lib. 10.

while

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while *they* were employed in the wars. These men, at several times, usurped the absolute authority, and were as cruel tyrants, as any in their age.

Soon * after the unfortunate expedition into Sicily, the Athenians chose four hundred men for administration of affairs, who became a body of tyrants, and were called, in the language of those ages, an *oligarchy*, or tyranny of the *few*; under which hateful denomination they were soon after deposed in great rage by the people.

When Athens † was subdued by Lyfander, he appointed thirty men for the administration of that city, who immediately fell into the rankest tyranny: but this was not all; for conceiving their power not founded on a *basis* large enough, they admitted three thousand into a share of the government; and thus fortified, became the cruellest tyranny upon record. They murdered in cold blood great numbers of the best men, without any provocation, from the mere lust of cruelty, like Nero or Caligula. This was such a number of tyrants together, as amounted to near a third part of the whole city; for Xenophon tells ‡, that the city contained about ten thousand houses; and allowing one man to every house, who could have any share in the government, (the rest consisting of women, children, and servants), and making other obvious abatements, these tyrants, if they had been careful to adhere together, might have been a majority even of the people collective.

In the time of the second Punic war ||, the balance of power in Carthage was got on the side of the people, and this to a degree, that some authors reckon the government to have been then among them a *dominatio plebis*, or *tyranny of the Commons*; which it seems they were at all times apt to fall into, and was at last among the causes that ruined their state: and the frequent murders of their generals, which Diodorus ** tells

* Thucyd. lib. 8.

† Xenoph. de rebus Græc. lib. 2.

‡ Memorab. lib. 3.

|| Polyb. frag. lib. 6.

** Lib. 20.

us was grown to an established custom among them, may be another instance, that tyranny is not confined to numbers.

I shall mention but one example more among a great number, that might be produced. It is related by the author last cited*. The orators of the people at Argos (whether you will style them, in modern phrase, *great speakers of the house*; or only, in general, representatives of the people collective) stirred up the commons against the nobles, of whom 1600 were murdered at once; and, at last, the orators themselves, because they left off their accusations, or, to speak intelligibly, because they *withdrew their impeachments*; having, it seems, raised a spirit they were not able to lay. And this last circumstance, as cases have lately stood, may perhaps be worth noting.

From what hath been already advanced, several conclusions may be drawn :

1st, That a mixed government partaking of the known forms received in the schools is by no means of Gothic invention, but hath place in nature and reason, seems very well to agree with the sentiments of most legislators, and to have been followed in most states, whether they have appeared under the name of monarchies, aristocracies, or democracies: for not to mention the several republics of this composition in Gaul and Germany, described by Cæsar and Tacitus, Polybius tells us, the best government is that which consists of three forms, *regno, optimatum, et populi imperio*†; which may be fairly translated, the *King, Lords, and Commons*. Such was that of Sparta, in its primitive institution by Lycurgus; who, observing the corruptions and depravations to which every of these was subject, compounded his scheme out of all; so that it was made up of *reges, seniores, et populus*. Such also was the state of Rome under its consuls: and the author tells us, that the Romans fell upon this model purely by chance, (which I take to have been nature and common reason), but the Spartans by thought and design. And such at Carthage was the *summa reipublicæ* ‡, or power in the last resort; for they had their Kings called *suffetes*, and a Se-

* Lib. 15.

† Idem. *ibid*.

‡ Fragm. lib. 6.

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nate which had the power of *nobles*, and the people had a share established too.

2^{dly}, It will follow, that those reasoners who employ so much of their zeal, their wit, and their leisure for the upholding the balance of power in Christendom, at the same time that by their practices they are endeavouring to destroy it at home, are not such mighty patriots, or so much in the true interest of their country, as they would affect to be thought; but seem to be employed like a man, who pulls down with his right hand what he has been building with his left.

3^{dly}, This makes appear the error of those who think it an uncontrollable maxim, that power is always safer lodged in many hands than in one: for if these many hands be made up only from one of the three divisions before mentioned, it is plain from those examples already produced, and easy to be paralleled in other ages and countries, that they are as capable of enslaving the nation, and of acting all manner of tyranny and oppression, as it is possible for a single person to be, though we should suppose their number not only to be of four or five hundred, but above three thousand.

Again, It is manifest from what has been said, that, in order to preserve the balance in a mixed state, the limits of power deposited with each party ought to be ascertained, and generally known. The defect of this is the cause that introduces those strugglings in a state about *prerogative* and *liberty*, about incroachments of the *few* upon the rights of the *many*, and of the *many* upon the privileges of the *few*, which ever did, and ever will conclude in a tyranny; first either of the *few*, or the *many*, but at last infallibly of a single person: for, which ever of the three divisions in a state is upon the scramble for more power than its own, (as one or other of them generally is), unless due care be taken by the other two, upon every new question that arises, they will be sure to decide in favour of themselves, talk much of inherent right; they will nourish up a dormant power, and reserve privileges *in petto*, to exert upon occasions, to serve expedients, and to urge upon necessities; they will make large demands, and scanty concessions, ever coming off considerable gainers: thus at length the balance

lance is broke, and tyranny let in ; from which door of the three, it matters not.

To pretend to a *declarative* right upon any occasion whatsoever, is little less than to make use of the whole power ; that is, to declare an opinion to be law, which has always been contested, or perhaps never started at all before such an incident brought it on the stage. Not to consent to the enacting of such a law, which has no view besides the general good, unless another law shall at the same time pass, with no other view but that of advancing the power of one party alone ; what is this but to claim a positive voice, as well as a negative ? To pretend that great changes* and alienations of property have created new and great dependencies, and consequently new additions of power, as some reasoners have done, is a most dangerous tenet. If dominion must follow property, let it follow in the same place ; for change in property through the bulk of a nation makes slow marches, and its due power always attends it. To conclude, that whatever attempt is begun by an assembly, ought to be pursued to the end, without regard to the greatest incidents that may happen to alter the case ; to count it mean, and below the *dignity of a house*, to quit a prosecution ; to resolve upon a conclusion before it is possible to be apprised of the premisses : to act thus, I say, is to affect not only absolute power, but infallibility too. Yet such unaccountable proceedings as these have popular assemblies engaged in, for want of fixing the due limits of *power* and *privilege*.

Great changes may indeed be made in a government, yet the form continue, and the balance be held : but large intervals of time must pass between every such innovation, enough to melt down and make it of a piece with the constitution. Such, we are told, were the proceedings of Solon, when he modelled anew the Athenian commonwealth ; and what convulsions in our own, as

* This seems to allude to a practice of the house of Commons called *Tacking* : when they suspected that a favourite bill would be rejected, they tacked it to a money-bill ; and as it was not possible to proceed without the supply, and as it became necessary to reject or receive both the bills thus tacked together, this expedient perfectly answered its purpose. *Hawkes*.

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well-as other states, have been bred by a neglect of this rule, is fresh and notorious enough ; it is too soon in all conscience to repeat this error again.

Having shewn, that there is a natural balance of power in all free states, and how it hath been divided, sometimes by the people themselves, as in Rome, at others by the institutions of the legislators, as in the several states of Greece and Sicily; the next thing is to examine, what methods have been taken to break or overthrow this balance, which every one of the three parties hath continually endeavoured, as opportunities have served; as might appear from the stories of most ages and countries: for absolute power in a particular state, is of the same nature with universal monarchy in several states adjoining to each other. So endless and exorbitant are the desires of men, whether considered in their persons or their states, that they will grasp at all, and can form no scheme of perfect happiness with less. Ever since men have been united into governments, the hopes and endeavours after universal monarchy have been bandied among them, from the reign of Ninus to this of the Most Christian King; in which pursuits commonwealths have had their share as well as monarchs: so the Athenians, the Spartans, the Thebans, and the Achaians, did several times aim at the universal monarchy of Greece: so the commonwealths of Carthage and Rome affected the universal monarchy of the then known world. In like manner hath absolute power been pursued by the several parties of each particular state; wherein single persons have met with most success, though the endeavours of the *few* and the *many* have been frequent enough: yet, being neither so uniform in their designs, nor so direct in their views, they neither could manage nor maintain the power they had got; but were ever deceived by the popularity and ambition of some single person. So that it will be always a wrong step in policy, for the nobles or commons to carry their endeavours after power so far, as to overthrow the balance; and it would be enough to damp their warmth in such pursuits, if they could once reflect, that in such a course they will be sure to run upon the very rock that they meant to avoid; which, I suppose, they

they would have us think, is the tyranny of a single person.

Many examples might be produced of the endeavours of each of these three rivals after absolute power; but I shall suit my discourse to the time I am writing in, and relate only such dissensions in Greece and Rome, between the nobles and commons, with the consequences of them, wherein the latter were the aggressors.

I shall begin with Greece, where my observations shall be confined to Athens, though several instances might be brought from other states thereof.

CHAP. II.

Of the dissensions in ATHENS, between the few and the many.

THESEUS is the first, who is recorded with any appearance of truth to have brought the Grecians from a barbarous manner of life, among scattered villages, into cities; and to have established the popular state in Athens, assigning to himself the guardianship of the laws and chief command in war. He was forced after some time to leave the Athenians to their own measures upon account of their seditious temper, which ever continued with them, till the final dissolution of their government by the Romans. It seems, the country about Attica was the most barren of any in Greece; through which means it happened, that the natives were never expelled by the fury of invaders, (who thought it not worth a conquest), but continued always Aborigines; and therefore retained through all revolutions a tincture of that turbulent spirit wherewith their government began. This institution of Theseus appears to have been rather a sort of mixed monarchy, than a popular state, and, for aught we know, might continue so during the series of kings till the death of Codrus. From this last prince Solon was said to be descended; who, finding the people engaged in two violent factions of the poor and the rich, and in great confusion thereupon; refusing the monarchy, which was offered

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him, chose rather to cast the government after another model, wherein he made due provisions for settling the balance of power, chusing a senate of four hundred, and disposing the magistracies and offices according to mens estates; leaving to the multitude their votes in electing, and the power of judging certain processes by appeal. This council of four hundred was chosen, one hundred out of each tribe, and seems to have been a body representative of the people; though the people collective reserved a share of power to themselves. It is a point of history perplexed enough; but thus much is certain, that the balance of power was provided for; else Pisistratus, called by authors the tyrant of Athens, could never have governed so peaceably, as he did, without changing any of Solon's laws*. These several powers, together with that of the *archon* or chief magistrate, made up the form of government in Athens, at what time it began to appear upon the scene of action and story.

The first great man bred up under this institution was Miltiades, who lived about ninety years after Solon, and is reckoned to have been the first great captain, not only of Athens, but of all Greece. From the time of Miltiades to that of Phocion, who is looked upon as the last famous general of Athens, are about 120 years: after which they were subdued and insulted by Alexander's captains, and continued under several revolutions a small truckling state, of no name or reputation, till they fell with the rest of Greece under the power of the Romans.

During this period from Miltiades to Phocion, I shall trace the conduct of the Athenians with relation to their dissensions between the people and some of their generals; who, at that time, by their power and credit in the army, in a warlike commonwealth, and often supported by each other, were, with the magistrates and other civil officers, a sort of counterpoise to the power of the people, who, since the death of Solon, had already made great incroachments. What these dissen-

* Herodot. lib. 1.

sions were, how founded, and what the consequences of them, I shall briefly and impartially relate.

I must here premise, that the nobles in Athens were not at this time a corporate assembly, that I can gather; therefore the resentments of the commons were usually turned against particular persons, and by way of articles of impeachment. Whereas the commons in Rome, and some other states, as will appear in a proper place, though they followed this method upon occasion, yet generally pursued the enlargement of their power by more set quarrels of one entire assembly against another. However, the custom of particular impeachments being not limited to former ages, any more than that of general struggles and dissensions between fixed assemblies of nobles and commons, and the ruin of Greece having been owing to the former, as that of Rome was to the latter, I shall treat on both expressly; that those states who are concerned in either (if at least there be any such now in the world), may, by observing the means and issues of former dissensions, learn whether the causes are alike in theirs; and if they find them to be so, may consider whether they ought not justly to apprehend the same effects.

To speak of every particular person impeached by the commons of Athens, within the compass designed, would introduce the history of almost every great man they had among them: I shall therefore take notice only of six, who, living in that period of time when Athens was at the height of its glory, as indeed it could not be otherwise while such hands were at the helm, though *impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, such as bribery, arbitrary proceedings, misapplying or embezzling public funds, ill conduct at sea, and the like*, were honoured and lamented by their country, as the preservers of it, and have had the veneration of all ages since paid justly to their memories.

Miltiades was one of the Athenian generals against the Persian power, and the famous victory at Marathon was chiefly owing to his valour and conduct. Being sent some time after to reduce the island Paros, he mistook a great fire at a distance for the fleet, and being nowise a match for them, set sail for Athens; at his

arrival he was *impeached* by the commons for treachery, though not able to appear by reason of his wounds, fined 30,000 crowns, and died in prison. Though the consequences of this proceeding upon the affairs of Athens were no other than the untimely loss of so great and good a man, yet I could not forbear relating it.

Their next great man was Aristides *. Besides the mighty service he had done his country in the wars, he was a person of the strictest justice, and best acquainted with the laws as well as forms of their government, so that he was in a manner chancellor of Athens. This man, upon a slight and false accusation of *favouring arbitrary power*, was banished by *ostracism*; which rendered into modern English, would signify, that they voted *he should be removed from their presence and council for ever*. But however, they had the wit to recall him, and to that action owed the preservation of their state by his future services. For it must be still confessed in behalf of the Athenian people, that they never conceived themselves perfectly infallible, nor arrived to the heights of *modern assemblies*, to make *obstinacy* confirm what *sudden heat* and *temerity* began. They thought it not below the dignity of an assembly to endeavour at correcting an ill step; at least to repent, though it often fell out too late.

Themistocles † was at first a commoner himself: it was he that raised the Athenians to their greatness at sea, which he thought to be the true and constant interest of that commonwealth; and the famous naval victory over the Persians at Salamis was owing to his conduct. It seems the people observed somewhat of haughtiness in his temper and behaviour, and therefore banished him for five years; but finding some slight matter of accusation against him, they sent to seize his person, and he hardly escaped to the Persian court; from whence, if the love of his country had not surmounted its base ingratitude to him, he had many in-

* Lord Somers. He was the general patron of the *literati*, and the particular friend of Dr Swift. *Orrery*.

† Earl of Orford. He had been considered in a manner as Lord High Admiral, the whole affairs of the navy having been committed to his charge. *Orrery*.

vitations to return at the head of the Persian fleet, and take a terrible revenge : but he rather chose a voluntary death.

The people of Athens impeached Pericles * for *misapplying the public revenues to his own private use*. He had been a person of great deservings from the republic, was an *admiral speaker*, and very popular. *His accounts were confus'd, and he could not then give them up* ; therefore merely to divert that difficulty, and the consequences of it, he was forced to engage his country in the Peloponnesian war, the longest that ever was known in Greece, and which ended in the utter ruin of Athens.

The same people, having resolv'd to subdue Sicily, sent a mighty fleet under the command of Nicias, Lysimachus, and Alcibiades ; the two former, persons of age and experience ; the last, a young man of noble birth, excellent education, and a plentiful fortune. A little before the fleet set sail, it seems one night the stone images of Mercury, placed in several parts of the city, were all parr'd in the face : this action the Athenians interpreted for a design of destroying the popular state ; and Alcibiades, having been formerly noted for the like frolics and excursions, was immediately accused of this. He, whether conscious of his innocence, or assur'd of the secrecy, offer'd to come to his trial before he went to his command ; this the Athenians refus'd. But as soon as he was got to Sicily, they sent for him back, designing to take the advan-

* Lord Halifax. He had a fine genius for poetry, and had employ'd his more youthful part of life in that science. He was distinguished by the name of *Mouse Montague*, having ridicul'd, jointly with Mat. Prior, Mr Dryden's famous poem of the Hind and Panther. The parody is drawn from Horace's fable of the city-mouse and country-mouse. But afterwards, upon Mr Mountague's promotion to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, Prior, with a good-humour'd indignation at seeing his friend preferred, and himself neglected, concludes an epistle, written in the year 1698, to Fleetwood Shepherd, Esq; with these three lines.

My friend Charles Mountague's preferr'd,
Nor would I have it long observ'd,
That one mouse eats while t'other's starv'd.

Orrery.
tage,

tage, and prosecute him in the absence of his friends, and of the army, where he was very powerful. It seems, he understood the resentments of a popular assembly too well to trust them ; and therefore, instead of returning, escaped to Sparta ; where his desires of revenge prevailing over his love to his country, he became its greatest enemy. Mean while the Athenians before Sicily, by the death of one commander, and the superstition, weakness, and perfect ill conduct of the other, were utterly destroyed, the whole fleet taken, and a miserable slaughter made of the army, whereof hardly one ever returned. Some time after this, Alcibiades was recalled upon his own conditions, by the necessities of the people, and made chief commander at sea and land ; but his lieutenant engaging against his positive orders, and being beaten by Lysander, Alcibiades was again disgraced, and banished. However, the Athenians having lost all strength and heart since their misfortune at Sicily, and now deprived of the only person that was able to recover their losses, repent of their rashness, and endeavour in vain for his restoration ; the Persian lieutenant, to whose protection he fled, making him a sacrifice to the resentments of Lysander the general of the Lacedemonians, who now reduces all the dominions of the Athenians, takes the city, razes their walls, ruins their works, and changes the form of their government ; which though again restored for some time by Thrasybulus, (as their walls were rebuilt by Conon), yet here we must date the fall of the Athenian greatness ; the dominion and chief power in Greece from that period to the time of Alexander the Great, which was about fifty years, being divided between the Spartans and Thebans. Though Philip, Alexander's father, (*the Most Christian King* of that age), had indeed some time before begun to break in upon the republics of Greece by conquest or bribery ; particularly *dealing large money among some popular orators*, by which he brought many of them, as the term of art was then, to Philippize.

In the time of Alexander and his captains, the Athenians were offered an opportunity of recovering their liberty, and being restored to their former state ; but

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the wife turn they thought to give the matter, was by an impeachment and sacrifice of the author, to hinder the success. For, after the destruction of Thebes by Alexander, this prince designing the conquest of Athens, was prevented by Phocion * the Athenian general, then ambassador from that state; who, by his great wisdom and skill at negotiations, diverted Alexander from his design, and restored the Athenians to his favour. The very same success he had with Antipater after Alexander's death, at which time the government was new regulated by Solon's laws: but Polyperchon, in hatred to Phocion, having, by order of the young King, whose governor he was, restored those whom Phocion had banished, the plot succeeded. Phocion was accused by popular orators, and put to death.

Thus was the most powerful commonwealth of all Greece, after great degeneracies from the institution of Solon, utterly destroyed by that rash, jealous, and inconstant humour of the people, which was never satisfied to see a general either *victorious* or *unfortunate*; such ill judges, as well as rewarders, have *popular assemblies* been, of those who best deserved from them.

Now, the circumstance, which makes these examples of more importance, is, that this very power of the people in Athens, claimed so confidently for an *inherent right*, and insisted on as the *undoubted privilege of an Athenian born*, was the rankest incroachment imaginable, and the grossest degeneracy from the form that Solon left them. In short, their government was grown into a *dominatio plebis*, or *tyranny of the people*, who, by degrees, had broke and overthrown the balance, which that legislator had very very well fixed and provided for. This appears not only from what has been already said of that lawgiver, but more manifestly from a passage in Diodorus; who tells us †, *That Antipater, one of Alexander's captains, abrogated the popular government (in Athens), and restored the power of suffrages and magistracy to such only as were worth two thousand drachmas; by which means, says he, that republic came to be [again] administered by the*

* The Earl of Portland. Orrery.

† Lib. 18.

laws of Solon. By this quotation it is manifest, that great author looked upon Solon's institution, and a popular government, to be two different things. And as for this restoration by Antipater, it had neither consequence nor continuance worth observing.

I might easily produce many more examples, but these are sufficient: and it may be worth the reader's time to reflect a little on the merits of the cause, as well as of the men, who had been thus dealt with by their country. I shall direct him no further than by repeating, that Aristides was the most renowned by the people themselves for his *exact justice and knowledge in the law*; that Themistocles was a most fortunate admiral, and had got a *mighty victory over the great King of Persia's fleet*; that Pericles was an *able minister of state, an excellent orator, and a man of letters*: and, lastly, that Phocion, besides the success of his arms, was also renowned for his *negotiations abroad, having in an embassy brought the greatest monarch of the world at that time to the terms of an honourable peace, by which his country was preserved.*

I shall conclude my remarks upon Athens with the character given us of that people by Polybius. *About this time, says he, the Athenians were governed by two men; quite sunk in their affairs; had little or no commerce with the rest of Greece, and were become great reverencers of crowned heads.*

For, from the time of Alexander's captains till Greece was subdued by the Romans, to the latter part of which this description of Polybius falls in, Athens never produced one famous man either for councils or arms, or hardly for learning. And indeed it was a dark insipid period through all Greece: for except the Achaian league under Aratus and Philopœmen; and the endeavours of Agis and Cleomenes to restore the state of Sparta, so frequently harassed by tyrannies occasioned by the popular practices of the Ephori, there was very little worth recording. All which consequences may perhaps be justly imputed to this degeneracy of Athens.

C H A P. III.

Of the dissensions between the Patricians and Plebeians in Rome, with the consequences they had upon that state.

HAVING in the foregoing chapter confined myself to the proceedings of the commons only by the method of *impeachments* against particular persons, with the fatal effects they had upon the state of Athens, I shall now treat of the dissensions at Rome between the people and the collective body of the Patricians or Nobles. It is large subject, but I shall draw it into as narrow a compass as I can.

As Greece, from the most ancient accounts we have of it, was divided into several kingdoms, so was most part of Italy * into several petty commonwealths. And as those kings in Greece are said to have been deposed by their people upon the score of their arbitrary proceedings, so on the contrary the commonwealths of Italy were all swallowed up, and concluded in the tyranny of the Roman emperors. However, the differences between those Grecian monarchies and Italian republics were not very great: for, by the accounts Homer gives us of those Grecian princes who came to the siege of Troy, as well as by several passages in the *Odyssey*, it is manifest, that the power of these princes in their several states was much of a size with that of the kings in Sparta, the archon at Athens, the suffetes at Carthage, and the consuls in Rome: so that a limited and divided power seems to have been the most ancient and inherent principles of both those people in matters of government. And such did that of Rome continue from the time of Romulus, though with some interruptions, to Julius Cæsar, when it ended in the tyranny of a single person. During which period (not many years longer than from the Norman conquest to our age) the Commons were growing, by degrees, into power and property, gaining ground up-

* Dionys. Halicar.

on the Patricians, as it were, inch by inch, till at last they quite overturned the balance, leaving all doors open to the practices of popular and ambitious men, who destroyed the wisest republic, and enslaved the noblest people that ever entered upon the stage of the world. By what steps and degrees this was brought to pass, shall be the subject of my present inquiry.

While Rome was governed by kings, the monarchy was altogether elective. Romulus himself, when he had built the city, was declared King by the universal consent of the people, and by augury, which was there understood for divine appointment. Among other divisions he made of the people, one was into Patricians and Plebeians: the former were like the Barons of England some time after the conquest; and the latter are also described to be almost exactly what our Commons were then. For they were dependents upon the Patricians, whom they chose for their patrons and protectors, to answer for their appearance, and defend them in any process: they also supplied their patrons with money in exchange for their protection. This custom of *patronage*, it seems, was very ancient, and long practised among the Greeks.

Out of these Patricians Romulus chose an hundred to be a *senate*, or *grand council*, for advice and assistance to him in the administration. The senate therefore originally consisted all of *nobles*, and were of themselves a *standing council*, the *people* being only convoked upon such occasions as, by this institution of Romulus, fell into their cognisance: those were to constitute magistrates, to give their votes for making laws, and to advise upon entering on a war. But the two former of these popular privileges were to be confirmed by authority of the senate; and the last was only permitted at the King's pleasure. This was the utmost extent of power pretended to by the commons in the time of Romulus; all the rest being divided between the King and the senate; the whole agreeing very nearly with the constitution of England for some centuries after the conquest.

After a year's *inter-regnum* from the death of Romulus, the senate, of their own authority, chose a successor, and a stranger, merely upon the fame of his virtue, with-

out

out asking the consent of the commons; which custom they likewise observed in the two following kings. But in the election of Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth King, we first hear mentioned, that it was done *populi impetrata venia*; which indeed was but very reasonable for a free people to expect; though I cannot remember, in my little reading, by what incidents they were brought to advance so great a step. However it were, this prince in gratitude to the people, by whose consent he was chosen, elected a hundred senators out of the commons, whose number, with former additions, was now amounted to three hundred.

The people having once discovered their own strength, did soon take occasion to exert it, and that by very great degrees. For at this King's death, who was murdered by the sons of a former, being at a loss for a successor, Servius Tullius, a stranger, and of mean extraction, was chosen protector of the kingdom by the *people*; without the consent of the senate; at which the nobles being displeased, he wholly applied himself to gratify the commons, and was by them declared and confirmed no longer Protector, but King.

This prince first introduced the custom of giving freedom to servants, so as to become citizens of equal privileges with the rest, which very much contributed to increase the power of the *people*.

Thus in a very few years the commons proceeded so far, as to wrest even the power of choosing a king entirely out of the hands of the nobles; which was so great a leap, and caused such a convulsion and struggle in the state, that the constitution could not bear it; but civil dissensions arose, which immediately were followed by the tyranny of a single person, as this was by the utter subversion of the regal government, and by a settlement upon a new foundation. For the nobles, spited at this indignity done them by the commons, firmly united in a body, deposed this prince by plain force, and chose Tarquin the Proud, who running into all the forms and methods of tyranny, after a cruel reign, was expelled by an universal concurrence of nobles and people, whom the miseries of his reign had reconciled.

When the consular government began, the balance of power between the nobles and plebeians was fixed anew:

the two first consuls were nominated by the nobles, and confirmed by the commons; and a law was enacted, that no person should bear any magistracy in Rome, *injussu populi*, that is, *without consent of the commons*.

In such turbulent times as these, many of the poorer citizens had contracted numerous debts either to the richer sort among themselves, or to senators and other nobles: and the case of debtors in Rome for the first four * centuries was, after the set time for payment, no choice but either to pay or be the creditor's slave. In this juncture the commons leave the city in mutiny and discontent, and will not return but upon condition to be acquitted of all their debts; and moreover, that certain magistrates be chosen yearly, whose business it shall be to defend the commons from injuries. These are called *tribunes* of the people, their persons are held sacred and inviolable, and the people bind themselves by oath never to abrogate the office. By these tribunes, in process of time, the people were grossly imposed on to serve the turns and occasions of revengeful or ambitious men, and to commit such exorbitancies as could not end but in the dissolution of the government.

These tribunes, a year or two after their institution, kindled great dissensions between the nobles and the commons on the account of Coriolanus, a nobleman whom the latter had *impeached*, and the consequences of whose impeachment (if I had not confined myself to Grecian examples for that part of my subject) had like to have been so fatal to their state. And from this time the tribunes began a custom of accusing to the people whatever nobles they pleased, several of whom were banished or put to death in every age.

At this time the Romans were very much engaged in wars with their neighbouring states; but upon the least intervals of peace the quarrels between the nobles and the plebeians would revive; and one of the most frequent subjects of their differences was the *conquered lands*, which the commons would fain have divided among the public; but the senate could not be brought to give their consent. For several of the wisest among the nobles began to apprehend the growing power of the people; and

* *Ab urbe condita*; from the building of the city.

therefore

therefore knowing what an accession thereof would accrue to them by such an addition of property, used all means to prevent it. For this the Appian family was most noted, and thereupon most hated by the commons. One of them having made a speech against this division of lands, was impeached by the people of high treason, and a day appointed for his trial; but disdaining to make his defence, he chose rather the usual Roman remedy of killing himself: after whose death the commons prevailed, and the lands were divided among them.

This point was no sooner gained, but new dissensions began: for the plebeians would fain have a law enacted to lay all mens rights and privileges upon the same level; and to enlarge the power of every magistrate within his own jurisdiction, as much as that of the consuls. The tribunes also obtained to have their number doubled, which before was five: and the author tells us*, that their insolence and power increased with their number, and the seditions were also doubled with it.

By the beginning of the fourth century from the building of Rome, the tribunes proceeded so far in the name of the commons, as to accuse and fine the consuls themselves, who represented the kingly power. And the senate observing, how in all contentions they were forced to yield to the tribunes and people, thought it their wisest course to give way also to time; therefore a decree was made to send ambassadors to Athens, and to the other Grecian commonwealths planted in that part of Italy called Græcia Major, to make a collection of the best laws; out of which, and some of their own, a new complete body of law was formed, afterwards known by the name of the *laws of the twelve tables*.

To digest these laws into order ten men were chosen, and the administration of all affairs left in their hands; what use they made of it, has been already shewn. It was certainly a great revolution, produced entirely by the many unjust incroachments of the people; and might have wholly changed the fate of Rome, if the folly and vice of those who were chiefly concerned, could have suffered it to take root.

A few years after, the commons made farther advances

* Dionys. Halicar.

on the power of the nobles; demanding among the rest that the consulship, which hitherto had only been disposed to the former, should now lie in common to the pretensions of any Roman whatsoever. This, though it failed at present, yet afterwards obtained, and was a mighty step to the ruin of the commonwealth.

What I have hitherto said of Rome, has been chiefly collected out of that exact and diligent writer Dionysius Halicarnassens, whose history, through the injury of time, reaches no farther than to the beginning of the fourth century after the building of Rome. The rest I shall supply from other authors; though I do not think it necessary to deduce this matter any further so very particularly, as I have hitherto done.

To point at what time the balance of power was most equally held between the *Lords* and *Commons* in Rome, would perhaps admit a controversy. Polybius tells us*, that in the second Punic war the Carthaginians were declining, because the balance was got too much on the side of the people; whereas the Romans were in their greatest vigour by the power remaining in the senate: yet this was between two and three hundred years after the period Dionysius ends with; in which time the commons had made several further acquisitions. This however must be granted, that (till about the middle of the fourth century), when the senate appeared resolute at any time upon exerting their authority, and adhered closely together, they did often carry their point. Besides, it is observed by the best authors†, that in all the quarrels and tumults at Rome, from the expulsion of the kings, though the people frequently proceeded to rude contumelious language, and sometimes so far as to pull and hale one another about the forum, yet no blood was ever drawn in any popular commotions, till the time of the Gracchi: however, I am of opinion, that the balance had begun many years before to lean to the popular side. But this default was corrected, partly by the principle just mentioned, of never drawing blood in a tumult; partly by the warlike genius of the people, which in those ages was almost perpetually employed; and

* Fragm. lib. 6.

† Dionys. Halicar. Plutarch, &c.

partly

partly by their great commanders, who by the credit they had in their armies fell into the scales as a further counterpoise to the growing power of the people. Besides, Polybius, who lived in the time of Scipio Africanus the younger, had the same apprehensions of the continual incroachments made by the commons; and being a person of as great abilities, and as much sagacity, as any of his age, from observing the corruptions, which, he says, had already entered into the Roman constitution, did very nearly foretel what would be the issue of them. His words are very remarkable, and with little addition may be rendered to this purpose. *That those abuses and corruptions, which in time destroy a government, are sown along with the very seeds of it, and both grow up together; and that as rust eats away iron, and worms devour wood, and both are a sort of plagues born and bred along with the substance they destroy; so with every form and scheme of government that man can invent, some vice or corruption creeps in with the very institution, which grows up along with, and at last destroys it**. The same author, in another place†, ventures so far as to guess at the particular fate which would attend the Roman government. He says, its ruin would arise from the popular tumults, which would introduce a *dominatio plebis*, or tyranny of the people; wherein it is certain he had reason, and therefore might have adventured to pursue his conjectures so far, as to the consequences of a popular tyranny, which, as perpetual experience teaches, never fails to be followed by the arbitrary government of a single person.

About the middle of the fourth century from the building of Rome, it was declared lawful for *nobles* and *plebeians* to intermarry; which custom, among many other states, has proved the most effectual means to ruin the former, and raise the latter.

And now the greatest employments in the state were, one after another, by laws forcibly enacted by the *commons*, made free to the people, the consulship itself, the office of censor, that of the *quæstors* or commissioners of the treasury, the office of prætor or chief justice,

* Lib. 5.

† Fragma. lib. 6.

the priesthood, and even that of dictator: the senate, after long opposition, yielding merely for present quiet to the continual urging clamours of the *commons*, and of the *tribunes* their advocates. A law was likewise enacted, that the *plebiscita*, or a vote of the house of commons, should be of universal obligation; nay, in time the method of enacting laws was wholly inverted; for whereas the senate used of old to confirm the *plebiscita*, the people did at last, as they pleased, confirm or disannul the *senatusconsulta* *.

Appius Claudius brought in a custom of admitting to the senate the sons of freed men, or of such who had once been slaves; by which, and succeeding alterations of the like nature, that great council degenerated into a most corrupt and factious body of men, divided against itself; and its authority became despised.

The century and half following, to the end of the third Punic war, by the destruction of Carthage, was a very busy period at Rome; the intervals between every war being so short, that the *tribunes* and *people* had hardly leisure or breath to engage in domestic dissensions: however, the little time they could spare, was generally employed the same way. So Terentius Leo, a *tribune*, is recorded to have basely prostituted the privileges of a *Roman* citizen, in perfect spite to the *nobles*. So the great African Scipio, and his brother, after all their mighty services, were impeached by an ungrateful *commons*.

However, the warlike genius of the people, and continual employment they had for it, served to divert this humour from running into a head, till the age of the Gracchi.

These persons entering the scene in the time of a full peace, fell violently upon advancing the power of the people by reducing into practice all those incroachments, which they had been so many years gaining. There were at that time certain conquered lands to be divided, beside a great private estate left by a king: these the *tribunes*, by procurement of the elder Gracchus, declared by their legislative authority, were not to be disposed of by the *nobles*, but by the *commons* only. The young-

* Dionys. lib. 2.

2. d. 1.

er brother pursued the same design; and, besides, obtained a law, that all Italians should vote at elections, as well as the citizens of Rome: in short, the whole endeavours of them both perpetually turned upon retrenching the *nobles* authority in all things, but especially in the matter of *judicature*. And though they both lost their lives in those pursuits, yet they traced out such ways as were afterwards followed by Marius, Sylla, Pompey, and Cæsar, to the ruin of the Roman freedom and greatness.

For in the time of Marius, Saturninus a tribune procured a law, that the senate should be bound by oath to agree to whatever the people would enact: and Marius himself, while he was in that office of tribune, is recorded to have, with great industry, used all endeavours for depressing the *nobles*, and raising the people, particularly for cramping the former in their *power of judicature*, which was *their most ancient inherent right*.

Sylla by the same measures became absolute tyrant of Rome: he added three hundred commons to the senate, which perplexed the power of the whole order, and rendered it ineffectual; then flinging off the mask, he abolished the office of tribune, as being only a scaffold to tyranny, whereof he had no further use.

As to Pompey and Cæsar, Plutarch tells us, that their union for pulling down the *nobles* (by their credit with the people) was the cause of the civil war, which ended in the tyranny of the latter; both of them in their consulships having used all endeavours and occasions for sinking the authority of the *patricians*, and giving way to all incroachments of the people, wherein they expected best to find their own account.

From this deduction of popular incroachments in Rome, the reader will easily judge, how much the balance was fallen upon that side. Indeed by this time the very foundation was removed, and it was a moral impossibility, that the republic could subsist any longer: for the *commons* having usurped the offices of state, and trampled on the senate, there was no government left but a *dominatio plebis*. Let us therefore examine how they proceeded in this conjuncture.

I think it is an universal truth, that the people are much

much more dexterous at pulling down and setting up, than at preserving what is fixed; and they are not fonder of seizing more than their own, than they are of delivering it up again to the *worst bidder*; with their own into the bargain. For although in their corrupt notions of divine worship, they are apt to multiply their gods; yet their earthly devotion is seldom paid to above one idol at a time, of their own creation, whose *oar* they pull with less murmuring and much more skill, than when they *share the leading*, or even *hold the helm*.

The several provinces of the Roman empire were now governed by the great men of their state; those upon the frontiers with powerful armies either for conquest or defence. These governors, upon any designs of revenge or ambition, were sure to meet with a divided power at home, and therefore bent all their thoughts and applications to close in with the people, who were now by many degrees the stronger party. Two of the greatest spirits that Rome ever produced, happened to live at the same time, and to be engaged in the same pursuit; and this at a conjuncture the most dangerous for such a contest: these were Pompey and Cæsar, two stars of such a magnitude, that their *conjunction* was as likely to be fatal, as their *opposition*.

The *tribunes* and people, having now subdued all competitors, began the last game of a prevalent populace, which is that of chusing themselves a *master*; while the nobles foresaw, and used all endeavours left them to prevent it. The people at first made Pompey their admiral with full power over all the Mediterranean, soon after captain-general of all the Roman forces, and governor of Asia. Pompey, on the other side, restored the office of *tribune*, which Sylla had put down; and in his consulship procured a law for *examining into the miscarriages of men in office or command for twenty years past*. Many other examples of Pompey's popularity are left us on record, who was a perfect favourite of the people, and designed to be more; but his pretensions grew stale for want of a timely opportunity of introducing them upon the stage. For Cæsar, with his legions in Gaul, was a perpetual check upon his designs; and in the arts of pleasing the people did soon after get many lengths beyond him.

him. For he tells us himself, that the senate by a bold effort having made some severe decrees against his proceedings, and against the tribunes, these all left the city, and went over to his party, and consequently along with them the affections and interests of the people; which is further manifest from the accounts he gives us of the citizens in several towns mutinying against their commanders, and delivering both to his devotion. Besides, Cæsar's public and avowed pretensions for beginning the civil war were to restore the tribunes and the people oppressed (as he pretended) by the *nobles*.

This forced Pompey, against his inclinations, upon the necessity of changing sides, for fear of being forsaken by both; and of closing in with the senate and chief magistrates, by whom he was chosen general against Cæsar.

Thus at length *the senate* (at least the primitive part of them, the *nobles*) under Pompey, and the *commons* under Cæsar, came to a final decision of the long quarrels between them. For, I think, the ambition of private men did by no means begin or occasion this war; though civil dissensions never fail of introducing and spiring the ambition of private men; who thus become indeed the great instruments for deciding of such quarrels, and at last are sure to seize on the prize. But no man, that sees a flock of vultures hovering over two armies ready to engage, can justly charge the blood drawn in the battle to them, though the carcases fall to their share. For while the balance of power is equally held, the ambition of private men, whether orators or great commanders, gives neither danger nor fear, nor can possibly enslave their country; but that once broken, the divided parties are forced to unite each to its head, under whose conduct or fortune one side is at first victorious, and at last both are slaves. And to put it past dispute, that this entire subversion of the Roman liberty and constitution was altogether owing to those measures, which had broke the balance between the *patricians* and *plebeians*, whereof the ambition of particular men was but an effect and consequence, we need only consider, that when the uncorrupted part of the senate had, by the death of Cæsar, made one great effort to restore their former state and liberty, the success did not answer their hopes, but that whole assembly

assembly was so sunk in its authority, that those patriots were forced to fly, and give way to the madness of the people, who by their own dispositions, stirred up with the harangues of their orators, were now wholly bent upon single and despotic slavery. Else, how could such a profligate as Antony, or a boy of eighteen, like Octavius, ever dare to dream of giving the law to such an empire and people? wherein the latter succeeded, and entailed the vilest tyranny, that heaven in its anger ever inflicted on a corrupt and poisoned people. And this, with so little appearance at Cæsar's death, that when Cicero wrote to Brutus, how he had prevailed by his credit with Octavius to promise him [Brutus] pardon and security for his person, that great Roman received the notice with the utmost indignity, and returned Cicero an answer, yet upon record, full of the highest resentment and contempt for such an offer, and from such a hand.

Here ended all shew or shadow of liberty in Rome. Here was the repository of all the wise contentions and struggles for power between the nobles and commons, lapped up safely in the bosom of a Nero and a Caligula, a Tiberius and a Domitian.

Let us now see from this deduction of particular impeachments, and general dissensions in Greece and Rome, what conclusions may naturally be formed for instruction of any other state, that may haply upon many points labour under the like circumstances.

C H A P. IV.

UPON the subject of *impeachments* we may observe, that the custom of accusing the *nobles* to the *people*, either by themselves, or their orators, (now styled an *impeachment in the name of the commons*), hath been very ancient both in Greece and Rome, as well as Carthage; and therefore may seem to be the inherent right of a free people, nay, perhaps it is really so: but then it is to be considered, first, that this custom was peculiar to republics, or such states where the administration lay principally in the hands of the commons, and ever raged more or less according to their incroachments upon absolute power;

power; having been always looked upon, by the wisest men and best authors of those times, as an effect of licentiousness, and not of liberty; a distinction, which no multitude, either *represented* or *collective*, hath been at any time very nice in observing. However, perhaps this custom in a popular state of impeaching particular men may seem to be nothing else, but the people's chusing upon occasion to exercise their own jurisdiction in person; as if a king of England should sit as chief justice in his court of king's bench; which, they say, in former times he sometimes did. But in Sparta, which was called a kingly government, though the people were perfectly free, yet because the administration was in the two kings and the *ephori* with the assistance of the senate, we read of no impeachments by the people; nor was the process against great men, either upon account of ambition or ill conduct, though it reached sometimes to kings themselves, ever formed that way, as I can recollect, but only passed through those hands, where the administration lay. So likewise during the regal government in Rome, though it was instituted a mixed monarchy, and the people made great advances in power, yet I do not remember to have read of one impeachment from the commons against a patrician, until the consular state began, and the people had made great incroachments upon the administration.

Another thing to be considered is, that allowing this right of impeachment to be as inherent as they please, yet, if the commons have been perpetually mistaken in the merits of the causes and the persons, as well as in the consequences of such impeachments upon the peace of the state, we cannot conclude less, than that the commons in Greece and Rome (whatever they may be in other states) were by no means qualified either as prosecutors or judges in such matters; and therefore that it would have been prudent, to have reserved these privileges dormant, never to be produced but upon very great and urging occasions, where the state is in apparent danger, the universal body of the people in clamours against the administration, and no other remedy in view. But for a few popular orators or tribunes, upon the score of *persona piques*; or to employ the pride they conceive in seeing themselves at the head of a party; or as a method for advancement;

or

or moved by certain powerful arguments that could make Demosthenes philippize: for such men, I say, when the state would of itself gladly be quiet, and hath, besides, affairs of the last importance upon the anvil, to impeach Miltiades * after a great naval victory, for not pursuing the Persian fleet: to impeach Aristides, the person most versed among them in the knowledge and practice of their laws, for a blind suspicion of his acting in an arbitrary way (that is, as they expound it, not in concert with the people): to impeach Pericles, after all his services, for a few inconsiderable accounts; or to impeach Phocion, who had been guilty of no other crime but negotiating a treaty for the peace and security of his country: what could the continuance of such proceedings end in, but the utter discouragement of all virtuous actions and persons, and consequently in the ruin of a state? therefore the historians of those ages seldom fail to set this matter in all its lights, leaving us the highest and most honourable ideas of those persons, who suffered by the persecution of the people, together with the fatal consequences they had, and how the persecutors seldom failed to repent, when it was too late.

These impeachments perpetually falling upon many of the best men both in Greece and Rome, are a cloud of witnesses, and examples enough to discourage men of virtue and abilities from engaging in the service of the public; and help on the other side to introduce the ambitious, the covetous, the superficial, and the ill-designing; who are as apt to be bold, and forward, and meddling, as the former are to be cautious, and modest, and reserved. This was so well known in Greece, that an eagerness after employments in the state was looked upon by wise men, as the worst title a man could set up; and made Plato say, *That if all men were as good as they ought, the quarrel in a commonwealth would be not as it is now, who should be ministers of state, but who*

* Though in other passages Lord Orford's character is supposed to be drawn under the name of Themistocles, yet he seems to be represented by Miltiades here; for Themistocles was not impeached at all. See p. 20. Hawkes.

should not be so. And Socrates * is introduced by Xenophon severely chiding a friend of his for not entering into the public service, when he was every way qualified for it: such a backwardness there was at that time among good men to engage with an usurping people, and a set of *pragmatical ambitious orators*. And Diodorus tells us †, that when the *petalism* was erected at Syracuse, in imitation of the *ostracism* ‡ at Athens, it was so notoriously levelled against all who had either birth or merit to recommend them, that whoever possessed either, withdrew for fear, and would have no concern in public affairs. So that the people themselves were forced to abrogate it for fear of bringing all things into confusion.

There is one thing more to be observed, wherein all the popular impeachments in Greece and Rome seem to have agreed; and that was, a notion they had of being concerned in *point of honour* to condemn whatever person they impeached, however frivolous the articles were, upon which they began, or however weak the surmises, whereon they were to proceed in their proofs. For, to conceive that the body of the people could be mistaken, was an indignity not to be imagined, till the consequences had convinced them, when it was past remedy. And I look upon this as a fate, to which all popular accusations are subject; though I should think that the saying, *Vox populi vox Dei*, ought to be understood of the universal bent and current of a people, not of the *bare majority* of a few representatives, which is often procured by *little arts*, and great industry and application; wherein those

* Lib. Memorab.

† Lib. II.

‡ *Ostracism* was a kind of popular sentence to banishment passed against men whose personal influence, from whatever cause, was thought to render them dangerous to the state; the votes were given by writing the name of the person on a shell by the Greeks, called *ὄστρακον*, and casting the shell into an urn.

Petalism was a sentence nearly of the same kind; and as *ostracism* was denominated from the shell on which the name of the suspected party was written, *petalism* took its name from *πέταλον*, a leaf, which the Syracusians used for the same purpose. Hawkesf.

who engage in the pursuits of malice and revenge, are much more sedulous than such as would prevent them.

From what hath been deduced of the *dissensions* in Rome between the two bodies of patricians and plebeians, several reflections may be made.

First, That when the balance of power is duly fixed in a state, nothing is more dangerous or unwise, than to give way to the *first steps* of popular incroachments; which is usually done either in hopes of procuring ease and quiet from some vexatious clamour, or else *made merchandise, and merely bought and sold*. This is breaking into a constitution to serve a present expedient, or supply a present exigency; the remedy of an empiric, to stifle the present pain, but with certain prospect of sudden and terrible returns. When a child grows easy and content by being humoured; and when a lover becomes satisfied by small compliances, without further pursuits; then expect to find popular assemblies content with small concessions. If there could one single example be brought from the whole compass of history, of any one popular assembly, who, after beginning to contend for power, ever sat down quietly with a certain share; or if one instance could be produced of a popular assembly, that ever knew, or proposed, or declared what share of power was their due; then might there be some hopes, that it were a matter to be adjusted by reasonings, by conferences, or debates: but since all that is manifestly otherwise, I see no other course to be taken in a settled state, than a steady constant resolution in those to whom the rest of the balance is intrusted, never to give way so far to popular clamours, as to make the least breach in the constitution, through which a million of abuses and incroachments will certainly in time force their way.

Again, from this deduction it will not be difficult to gather and assign certain marks of popular incroachments; by observing of which, those who hold the balance in a state may judge of the degrees, and, by early remedies and application, put a stop to the fatal consequences that would otherwise ensue. What those marks are, hath been at large deduced, and need not be here repeated.

Another consequence is this: That (with all respect for popular assemblies be it spoke) it is hard to recollect one
fally,

folly, infirmity, or vice, to which a single man is subjected, and from which a body of commons, either collective or represented, can be wholly exempt. For, besides that they are composed of men, with all their infirmities about them, they have also the ill fortune to be generally led and influenced by the very worst among themselves. I mean, *popular orators, tribunes*, or, as they are now styled, *great speakers, leading men*, and the like. From whence it comes to pass, that in the results we have sometimes found the same spirit of cruelty and revenge, of malice and pride, the same blindness, and obstinacy, and unsteadiness, the same ungovernable rage and anger, the same injustice, sophistry, and fraud, that ever lodged in the breast of any individual.

Again, in all free-states the evil to be avoided is *tyranny*, that is to say, the *summa imperii*, or unlimited power solely in the hands of the *one*, the *few*, or the *many*. Now, we have shewn, that although most revolutions of government in Greece and Rome began with the tyranny of the people, yet they generally concluded in that of a single person; so that an usurping populace is its own *dupe*; a mere underworker, and a purchaser in trust for some single tyrant, whose state and power they advance to their own ruin, with as blind an instinct, as those worms that die with weaving magnificent habits for beings of a superior nature to their own.

C H A P. V.

SOME reflections upon the late public proceedings among us, and that variety of factions into which we are still so intricately engaged, gave occasion to this discourse. I am not conscious, that I have forced one example, or put it into any other light than it appeared to me long before I had thought of producing it.

I cannot conclude without adding some particular remarks upon the present posture of affairs and dispositions in this kingdom.

The fate of empire is grown a common-place: that all forms of government having been instituted by men, must be mortal, like their authors, and have their periods of duration.

duration limited as well as those of private persons. This is a truth of vulgar knowledge and observation; but there are few who turn their thoughts to examine how those diseases in a state are bred, that hasten its end; which would however be a very useful inquiry. For, though we cannot prolong the period of a commonwealth beyond the decree of heaven, or the date of its nature, any more than human life beyond the strength of the seminal virtue; yet we may manage a sickly constitution, and preserve a strong one; we may watch and prevent accidents; we may turn off a great blow from without, and purge away an ill humour that is lurking within; and by these, and other such methods, render a state long-lived, though not immortal. Yet some physicians have thought, that if it were practicable to keep the several humours of the body in an exact equal balance of each with its opposite, it might be immortal, and so perhaps would a political body, if the balance of power could be always held exactly even. But, I doubt, this is as impossible in practice as the other.

It hath an appearance of fatality, and that the period of a state approacheth, when a concurrence of many circumstances, both within and without, unite towards its ruin; while the whole body of the people are either stupidly negligent, or else giving in with all their might to those very practices that are working their destruction. To see whole bodies of men breaking a constitution by the very same errors, that so many have been broke before; to observe opposite parties, who can agree in nothing else, yet firmly united in such measures as must certainly ruin their country; in short, to be encompassed with the greatest dangers from without, to be torn by many virulent factions within; then to be secure and senseless under all this, and to make it the very least of our concern; these, and some others that might be named, appear to me to be the most likely symptoms in a state of *a sickness unto death*.

Quod procul a nobis flectat fortuna gubernans :

Et ratio potius, quam res persuadeat ipsa.

Lucret.

There are some conjunctures, wherein the death or dissolution of government is more lamentable in its consequences,

quences, than it would be in others. And, I think, a state can never arrive to its period in a more deplorable *crisis*, than at a time when some *prince in the neighbourhood*, of vast power and ambition, lies hovering like a vulture to devour, or at least dismember its dying carcase; by which means it becomes only a province or acquisition to some mighty monarchy, without hopes of a resurrection.

I know very well, there is a set of sanguine tempers, who deride and ridicule, in the number of fopperies, all such apprehensions as these. They have it ready in their mouths, that the people of England are of a genius and temper never to admit slavery among them; and they are furnished with a great many common-places upon that subject. But it seems to me, that such discourses do reason upon short views, and a very moderate compass of thought. For I think it a great error to count upon the genius of a nation as a standing argument in all ages, since there is hardly a spot of ground in Europe, where the inhabitants have not frequently and entirely changed their temper and genius. Neither can I see any reason, why the genius of a nation should be more fixed in the point of government, than in their morals, their learning, their religion, their common humour and conversation, their diet and their complexion; which do all notoriously vary almost in every age, and may every one of them have great effects upon mens notions of government.

Since the Norman conquest the balance of power in England hath often varied, and sometimes been wholly overturned; the part which the commons had in it, (*that most disputed point*), in its original, progress, and extent, was, by their own confessions, but a very inconsiderable share. Generally speaking, they have been gaining ever since, though with frequent interruptions and slow progress. The abolishing of *villanage*, together with the custom introduced (or permitted) among the nobles of selling their lands in the reign of Henry the Seventh, was a mighty addition to the power of the commons: yet I think a much greater happened in the time of his successor, at the dissolution of the abbeyes; for this turned the *clergy* wholly out of the scale, who had so long filled it; and placed the *commons* in their stead;

who in a few years became possessed of vast quantities of those and other lands, by grant or purchase. About the middle of Q. Elizabeth's reign, I take the power between the nobles and the commons to have been in more equal balance, than it was ever before or since. But then, or soon after, arose a faction in England, which, under the name of *Puritan*, began to grow popular by molding up their new schemes of religion with republican principles in government; and, gaining upon the *prerogative* as well as the *nobles*, under several denominations, for the space of about sixty years, did at last overthrow the constitution, and, according to the usual course of such revolutions, did introduce a tyranny, first of the people, and then of a single person.

In a short time after, the old government was revived. But the progress of affairs for almost thirty years, under the reigns of two weak princes*, is a subject of a very different nature; when the balance was in danger to be overturned by the hands that held it, which was at last very seasonably prevented by the late revolution. However, as it is the talent of human nature to run from one extreme to another, so in a very few years we have made mighty leaps from prerogative-heights into the depths of popularity, and, I doubt, to the very last degree that our constitution will bear. It were to be wished that the most august assembly of the commons would please to form a *pandect* of their own power and privileges, to be confirmed by the entire legislative authority, and that in as solemn a manner (if they please) as the *magna charta*. But to fix one foot of their compass where-ever they think fit, and extend the other to such terrible lengths, without describing any circumference at all, is to leave us and ourselves in a very uncertain state, and in a sort of *rotation*, that the author† of the *Oceana* never dreamed on. I believe the most hardy tri-
bune

* Charles II. and James II.

† Mr James Harrington, sometime in the service of King Charles I. after whose death he drew up and printed a form of popular government, intitled, *The commonwealth of Oceana*: he endeavoured likewise to promote this scheme by public discourses.

bune will not venture to affirm at present, that any just fears of incroachment are given us from the regal power, or the *few*: and is it then impossible to err on the other side? How far must we proceed, or where shall we stop? *The raging of the sea, and the madness of the people* are put together in holy writ; and it is God alone who can say to either, *Hitherto shalt thou pass, and no further.*

The balance of power in a limited state is of such absolute necessity, that Cromwell himself, before he had perfectly confirmed his tyranny, having some occasions for the appearance of a parliament, was forced to create and erect an entire new house of Lords, such as it was, for a counterpoise to the commons. And indeed, considering the vileness of the clay, I have sometimes wondered, that no tribune of that age durst ever venture to alk the *potter, What dost thou make?* But it was then about the last act of a popular usurpation, and *fate or Cromwell* had already prepared them for that of a single person.

I have been often amazed at the rude, passionate, and mistaken results, which have at certain times fallen from great assemblies, both ancient and modern, and of other countries as well as our own. This gave me the opinion I mentioned a while ago, that public conventions are liable to all the infirmities, follies, and vices of private men. To which if there be any exception, it must be of such assemblies, who act by *universal concert, upon public principles, and for public ends*; such as proceed upon debates without *unbecoming warmths*, or influence from *particular leaders and inflamers*; such whose members, instead of *canvassing to procure majorities for their private opinions*, are ready to comply with general sober results, though contrary to their own sentiments. Whatever assemblies act by these and other methods of the like nature, must be allowed to be exempt from several in-

at a nightly meeting of several curious gentlemen in New Palace Yard, Westminster. This club was called the *Rota*; and Mr Henry Nevil, one of its members, proposed to the then house of Commons, that a third part of the senate should *rotate* out by ballot every year, and be incapable of being elected again for three years to come. *Hawkes.*

perfections,

perfections, to which particular men are subjected. But I think the source of most mistakes and miscarriages in matters debated by public assemblies, ariseth from the influence of private persons upon great numbers, styled, in common phrase, *leading men and parties*. And therefore when we sometimes meet a *few words* put together, which is called the *vote* or *resolution* of an assembly, and which we cannot possibly reconcile to *prudence* or *public good*, it is most charitable to conjecture, that such a vote has been conceived, and born, and bred in a private brain, afterwards raised and supported by an obsequious party, and then with usual methods confirmed by an *artificial* majority. For let us suppose five hundred men, mixed in point of sense and honesty, as usually assemblies are; and let us suppose these men proposing, debating, resolving, voting, according to the mere natural motions of their own little or much reason and understanding; I do allow, that abundance of indigested and abortive, many pernicious and foolish overtures would arise, and float a few minutes; but then they would die and disappear. Because this must be said in behalf of human kind, that common sense and plain reason, while men are disengaged from acquired opinions, will ever have some general influence upon their minds; whereas the species of folly and vice are infinite, and so different in every individual, that they could never procure a majority, if other corruptions did not enter to pervert mens understandings, and misguide their wills.

To describe how parties are bred in an assembly, would be a work too difficult at present, and perhaps not altogether safe. *Periculosa plenum opus alea*. Whether those who are leaders, usually arrive at that station more by a sort of instinct or secret composition of their nature, or influence of the stars, than by the possession of any great abilities, may be a point of much dispute: but when the leader is once fixed, there will never fail to be followers. And man is so apt to *imitate*, so much of the nature of *sheep*, *imitatores*, *servum pecus*, that whoever is so bold to give the first *great leap over the heads of those about him*, though he be the worst of the flock, shall be quickly followed by the rest. Besides, when parties are once formed, the stragglers look so ridiculous, and be-

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come so insignificant, that they have no other way, but to run into the herd, which at least will hide and protect them; and where to be much considered, requires only to be very violent.

But there is one circumstance with relation to parties, which I take to be of all others most pernicious in a state; and I would be glad any partisan would help me to a tolerable reason, that because Clodius and Curio happen to agree with me in a few singular notions, I must therefore blindly follow them in all: or, to state it at best, that because Bibulus the *party-man* is persuaded that Clodius and Curio do really propose the good of their country as their chief end; therefore Bibulus shall be wholly guided and governed by them in the means and measures towards it. Is it enough for Bibulus, and the rest of the herd, to say without further examining, *I am of the side with Clodius, or I vote with Curio?* Are these proper methods to form and make up what they think fit to call *the united wisdom of the nation?* Is it not possible, that upon some occasion Clodius may be bold and insolent, borne away by his passion, malicious, and revengeful? That Curio may be corrupt, and expose to sale his tongue, or his pen? I conceive it far below the dignity both of human nature, and human reason, to be engaged in any party, the most plausible soever, upon such servile conditions.

This influence of *one upon many*, which seems to be as great in a people *represented*, as it was of old in the commons *collective*, together with the consequences it hath had upon the legislature, hath given me frequent occasion to reflect upon what Diodorus tells us of one Charondas, a lawgiver to the Sybarites, an ancient people of Italy, who was so averse from all innovation, especially when it was to proceed from particular persons, (and, I suppose, that he might put it out of the power of men, fond of their own notions, to disturb the constitution at their pleasures, by advancing private schemes), that he provided a statute, that whoever proposed any alteration to be made, should step out and do it with a rope about his neck: if the matter proposed were generally approved, then it should pass into a law; if it went in the negative, the proposer to be immediately *hanged*. Great ministers.

ministers may talk of what projects they please; but I am deceived, if a more effectual one could ever be found for *taking off* (as the present phrase is) those hot, unquiet spirits, who disturb assemblies, and obstruct public affairs, by gratifying their pride, their malice, their ambition, or their avarice.

Those who in a late reign began the distinction between the *personal* and *politic* capacity, seem to have had reason, if they judged of princes by themselves; for I think, there is hardly to be found through all nature a greater difference between two things, than there is between a representing commoner in the function of his public calling, and the same person when he acts in the common offices of life. Here he allows himself to be upon a level with the rest of mortals: here he follows his own reason, and his own way; and rather affects a singularity in his actions and thoughts, than servilely to copy either from the wisdom of his neighbours. In short, here his folly and his wisdom, his reason and his passions, are all of his own growth, not the echo or infusion of other men. But when he is got near the walls of his assembly, he assumes and affects an entire set of very different airs; he conceives himself a being of a superior nature to those *without*, and acting in a sphere, where the vulgar methods for the conduct of human life can be of no use. He is lifted in a party, where he neither knows the temper, nor designs, nor perhaps the person of his leader; but whose opinions he follows and maintains with a zeal and faith as violent, as a young scholar does those of a philosopher, whose sect he is taught to profess. He hath neither opinions, nor thoughts, nor actions, nor talk, that he can call his own, but all conveyed to him by his leader, as wind is through an organ. The nourishment he receives, hath been not only *chewed*, but *digested*, before it comes into his mouth. Thus instructed, he follows the *party* right or wrong through all its sentiments, and acquires a courage and stiffness of opinion not at all congenial with him.

This encourages me to hope, that, during the present lucid interval, the members retired to their homes may suspend a while their *acquired* complexions, and taught by the calmness of the scene and the season, reassume the

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native sedateness of their temper. If this should be so, it would be wise in them, as individual and private mortals, to look back a little upon the storms they have *raised* as well as those they have *escaped*: to reflect, that they have been authors of a new and wonderful thing in England, which is, for a house of Commons to lose the universal favour of the numbers they represent; to observe, how those whom they thought fit to persecute for righteousness sake, have been openly caressed by the people; and to remember how themselves sat in fear of their persons from popular rage. Now, if they would know the secret of all this unprecedented proceeding in their *masters*, they must not impute it to their freedom in debate, or declaring their opinions, but to that unparliamentary abuse of *setting individuals upon their shoulders*, who were hated by God and man. For it seems the mass of the people, in such conjunctures as this, have opened their eyes, and will not endure to be governed by Clodius and Curio at the head of their Myrmidons, though these be ever so numerous, and composed of their own representatives.

This aversion of the people against the late proceedings of the Commons is an accident, that, if it last a while, might be improved to good uses for setting the balance of power a little more upon an equality, than their late measures seem to promise or admit. This accident may be imputed to two causes: the first is an universal fear and apprehension of the greatness and power of France, whereof the people in general seem to be very much and justly possessed, and therefore cannot but resent to see it, in so critical a juncture, wholly laid aside by their ministers, the Commons. The other cause is a great love and sense of gratitude in the people towards their present king, grounded upon a long opinion and experience of his merit, as well as concessions to all their reasonable desires; so that it is for some time they have begun to say, and to fetch instances, where he hath in many things been hardly used. How long these humours may last (for passions are momentary, and especially those of a multitude), or what consequences they may produce, a little time will discover. But whenever it comes to pass, that a popular assembly, free from such obstructions, and already
ready

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ready possessed of more power, than an equal balance will allow, shall continue to think they have not enough, but by cramping the hand that holds the balance, and by *impeachments* or *dissensions* with the nobles, endeavour still for more; I cannot possibly see, in the common course of things, how the same causes can produce different effects and consequences among us, from what they did in Greece and Rome.

The

THE PUBLIC SPIRIT of the WHIGS, set forth in their generous encouragement of the author of the CRISIS *.

With some observations on the seasonableness, candor, erudition, and style of that treatise.

[Upon the first publication of this pamphlet, all the Scotch Lords, then in London, went in a body, and complained to QUEEN ANNE of the affront put on them and their nation by the author of this treatise. Whereupon a proclamation was published by her Majesty, offering a reward of 300 l. to discover him. The reason for offering so small a sum was, that the Queen and ministry had no desire to have the author taken into custody.]

I Cannot, without some envy, and a just resentment against the opposite conduct of others, reflect upon that generosity and tenderness, wherewith the heads and principal members of a struggling faction treat those who

* It was written in the year 1712, by the consent if not the encouragement of the ministers of that era, in answer to the Crisis, by Sir Richard Steele. *Orrery.*

The noble commentator who appears in another instance to have given an account of the works of his author, from a perusal of no more than a title † in the Dublin editions, has been betrayed into mistakes, which, if he had read the piece, he would have escaped. This tract, in the title which his Lordship consulted, is said to have been written in the year 1712: but in that part of it which most deserves the notice of a critic, because it occasioned a complaint in the house of Lords, mention is made of a motion to dissolve the union, which did not happen till 1713. The complaint, which is said in the note to happen upon the

first

† See the note on *Voyage to Brobdingnag*, chap. 6. vol. 4.

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who will undertake to hold a pen in their defence. And the behaviour of these patrons is yet the more laudable, because the benefits they confer are almost *gratis*. If any of their labourers can scratch out a pamphlet, they desire no more; there is no question offered about the wit, the style, the argument. Let a pamphlet come out upon demand in a proper juncture, you shall be well and certainly paid; you shall be paid beforehand; every one of the party who is able to read, and can spare a shilling, shall be a subscriber; several thousands of each production shall be sent among their friends through the kingdom; the work shall be reported admirable, sublime, unanswerable; shall serve to raise the sinking clamours, and confirm the scandal of introducing Popery and the pretender upon the Queen and her ministers.

Among the present writers on that side I can recollect but three of any great distinction, which are the *Flying Post*, Mr Dunton, and the author of the *Crisis* *. The first of these seems to have been much sunk in reputation, since the sudden retreat of the *only true genuine original author*, Mr Ridpath, who is celebrated by the *Dutch gazetteer as one of the best pens in England*. Mr Dunton hath been longer and more conversant in books than any of the three, as well as more voluminous in his productions: however, having employed his studies in so great a variety of other subjects, he hath, I think, but lately turned his genius to politics. His famous tract,

first publication, was made the 2d of March 1713-14, and the pamphlet, according to the custom of printers, was dated 17 14. *Hawkes*.

In the style and conduct, this is one of the boldest, as well as one of the most masterly tracts that Swift ever wrote. And I cannot help observing, that on whatever topic he employs his pen, the subject which he treats of is always so excellently managed, as to seem to have been the whole study and application of his life: so that he appears the greatest master, through a greater variety of materials, than perhaps have been discussed by any other author. *Orrery*.

Mr Steele was expelled the house of Commons for this pamphlet, at the very same time that the house of Lords was moved against the Dean for the reply. *Hawkes*.

intitled,

intituled, *Neck or nothing*, must be allowed to be the shrewdest piece, and written with the most spirit of any, which hath appeared from that side since the change of the ministry: it is indeed a most cutting satire upon the Lord Treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke, and I wonder none of our friends ever undertook to answer it. I confess I was at first of the same opinion with several good judges, who, from the style and manner, suppose it to have issued from the sharp pen of the Earl of Nottingham; and I am still apt to think it might receive his Lordship's last hand. The third and principal of this triumvirate is the author of the *Crisis*; who, although he must yield to the *Flying Post* in knowledge of the world, and skill in politics, and to Mr Dunton in keenness of satire and variety of reading, hath yet other qualities enough to denominate him a writer of a superior class to either; provided he would a little regard the propriety and disposition of his words, consult the grammatical part, and get some information in the subject he intends to handle.

Omitting the generous countenance and encouragement that have been shewn to the persons and productions of the two former authors, I shall here only consider the great favour conferred upon the last. It hath been advertised for several months in the *Englishman**, and other papers, that a pamphlet, called the *Crisis*, should be published at a proper time in order to open the eyes of the nation. It was proposed to be printed by subscription, price a shilling. This was a little out of form; because subscriptions are usually begged only for books of great price, and such as are not likely to have a general sale. Notice was likewise given of what this pamphlet should contain; only an extract from certain acts of parliament relating to the succession, which at least must sink nine pence in the shilling; and leave but three pence for the author's political reflections; so that nothing very wonderful or decisive could be reasonably expected from this performance. But a work was to be done, a hearty writer to be encouraged, and accordingly many thousand

* A paper written by the same author in favour of the preceding administration. *Hawkes*.

copies were bespoke. Neither could this be sufficient; for when we expected to have our bundles delivered us, all was stopt; the friends to the cause sprang a new project; and it was advertised that the Crisis could not appear, till the ladies had shewn their zeal against the pretender, as well as the men; against the pretender in the bloom of his youth, reported to be handsome, and endued with an understanding exactly of a size to please the sex. I should be glad to have seen a printed list of the fair subscribers prefixed to this pamphlet; by which the Chevalier might know, he was so far from *pretending* to a monarchy here, that he could not so much as *pretend* to a mistress.

At the destined period, the first news we hear, is of a huge train of dukes, earls, viscounts, barons, knights, esquires, gentlemen, and others, going to Sam. Buckley's the publisher of the Crisis to fetch home their cargoes, in order to transmit them by dozens, scores, and hundreds into the several counties, and thereby to prepare the wills and understandings of their friends against the approaching sessions. Ask any of them, whether they have read it? they will answer, No; but they have sent it every where, and it will do a world of good. It is a pamphlet, and a pamphlet, they hear, against the ministry; talks of slavery, France, and the pretender: they desire no more; it will settle the wavering, confirm the doubtful, instruct the ignorant, inflame the clamorous, although it never be once looked into. I am told by those who are expert in the trade, that the author and bookseller of this twelve-penny treatise will be greater gainers, than from one edition of any folio that hath been published these twenty years. What needy writer would not solicit to work under such masters, who will pay us beforehand, take off as much of our ware as we please at our own rates, and trouble not themselves to examine either before or after they have bought it, whether it be staple or no?

But, in order to illustrate the implicit munificence of these noble patrons, I cannot take a more effectual method than by examining the production itself; by which we shall easily find that it was never intended, further than from the noise, the bulk, and the title of *Crisis*, to do

do any service to the factious cause. The entire piece consists of a title-page, a dedication to the clergy, a preface, an extract from certain acts of parliament, and about ten pages of dry reflections on the proceedings of the Queen and her servants; which his coadjutors, the Earl of Nottingham, Mr Dunton, and the Flying Post, had long ago set before us in a much clearer light.

In Popish countries, when some impostor cries out, *A miracle! a miracle!* it is not done with a hope or intention of converting heretics, but confirming the deluded vulgar in their errors: and so the cry goes round without examining into the cheat. Thus the Whigs among us give about the cry, *A pamphlet! a pamphlet! The Crisis! the Crisis!* not with a view of convincing their adversaries, but to raise the spirits of their friends, recall their stragglers, and unite their numbers by sound and impudence; as bees assemble and cling together by the noise of brass.

That no other effect could be imagined or hoped for by the publication of this timely treatise, will be manifest from some obvious reflections upon the several parts of it: wherein the follies, the falsehoods, or the absurdities, appear so frequent, that they may boldly contend for number with the lines.

When the hawker holds this pamphlet towards you, the first words you perceive are, *The Crisis*; or, *A discourse*, &c. The interpreter of Suidas gives four translations of the word *Crisis*; any of which may be as properly applied to this author's letter to the bailiff of Stockbridge*. Next, what he calls a *discourse*, consists only of two pages, prefixed to twenty-two more, which contain extracts from acts of parliament; for as to the twelve last pages, they are provided for by themselves in the title, under the name of *Some seasonable remarks on the danger of a Popish successor*. Another circumstance worthy of our information in the title-page, is, that the crown hath been settled by previous acts. I never heard of any act of parliament that was not previous to what

* Steele addressed a letter to the Bailiff of Stockbridge, who appears to have been returning officer for this borough, which Steele represented in parliament. *Hawkes.*

it enacted, unless those two, by which the Earl of Strafford and Sir John Fenwick lost their heads, may pass for exceptions. *A discourse, representing from the most authentic records, &c.* He hath borrowed this expression from some writer, who probably understood the words; but this gentleman hath altogether misapplied them; and, under favour, he is wholly mistaken; for a heap of extracts from several acts of parliament cannot be called a discourse; neither do I believe he copied them from the most authentic records, which, as I take it, are lodged in the Tower, but out of some common printed copy. I grant there is nothing material in all this, further than to shew the generosity of our adversaries in encouraging a writer, who cannot furnish out so much as a title-page with propriety or common sense.

Next follows the dedication to the clergy of the church of England, wherein the modesty and the meaning of the first paragraphs are hardly to be matched. He tells them, he hath made a *comment upon the acts of settlement*, which he *lays before them*, and *conjures them to recommend in their writings and discourses to their fellow-subjects*: and he doth all this, *out of a just deference to their great power and influence*. This is the right Whig scheme of directing the clergy what to preach. The Archbishop of Canterbury's jurisdiction extends no farther than over his own province; but the author of the Crisis constitutes himself vicar-general over the whole clergy of the church of England. The bishops in their letters or speeches to their own clergy proceed no further than to *exhortation*; but this writer *conjures* the whole clergy of the church to *recommend his comment upon the laws of the land, in their writings and discourses*. I would fain know, who made him a *commentator upon the laws of the land*: after which it will be time enough to ask him, by what authority he directs the clergy to *recommend his comments* from the pulpit or the press?

He tells the clergy *there are two circumstances which place the minds of the people under their direction*; the first circumstance is their education; the second circumstance is the tenths of our lands. This last, according to the Latin phrase, is spoken *ad invidiam*; for he knows well enough, they have not a twentieth: but if you take it in his own way, the landlord has nine parts in ten of the

the people's minds under his direction. Upon this rock the author before us is perpetually splitting, as often as he ventures out beyond the narrow bounds of his literature. He hath a confused remembrance of words since he left the university; but hath lost half their meaning, and puts them together with no regard, except to their cadence; as I remember a fellow nailed up maps in a gentleman's closet, some sideling, others upside down, the better to adjust them to the pannels.

I am sensible it is of little consequence to their cause, whether this defender of it understands grammar or no; and if what he would fain say, discovered him to be a wellwisher to reason or truth, I would be ready to make large allowances. But when, with great difficulty, I descry a composition of rancour and falsehood, intermixed with plausible nonsense, I feel a struggle between contempt and indignation at seeing the character of a *censor*, a *guardian*, an *Englishman*, a *commentator on the laws*, an *instructor of the clergy*, assumed by a child of obscurity without one single qualification to support them.

This writer, who either affects, or is commanded of late to copy after the Bishop of Sarum, hath, out of the pregnancy of his invention, found out an old way of insinuating the grossest reflections under the appearance of admonitions; and is so judicious a follower of the prelate, that he taxes the clergy for *inflaming their people with apprehensions of danger to them and their constitution from men, who are innocent of such designs*; when he must needs confess, the whole design of his pamphlet is to *inflame the people with apprehensions of danger from the present ministry, whom we believe to be at least as innocent men as the last*.

What shall I say to a pamphlet, where the malice and falsehood of every line would require an answer, and where the dulness and absurdities will not deserve one?

By his pretending to have always maintained an inviolable respect to the clergy, he would insinuate, that those papers among the *Tatlers* and *Spectators*, where the whole order is abused, were not his own. I will appeal to all who know the flatness of his style, and the barrenness of his invention, whether he doth not grossly prevaricate? was he ever able to walk without leading-strings, or swim without bladders, without being discovered by his hobbling

hobbling and his sinking? hath headhered to his character in his paper called the *Englishman*, whereof he is allowed to be sole author without any competition? what does he think of the letter signed by himself, which relates to Moleſworth*, in whose defence he affronts the whole convocation of Ireland?

It is a wise maxim, That because the clergy are no civil lawyers, they ought not to preach obedience to governors; and therefore they ought not to preach temperance, because they are no physicians. Examine all this author's writings, and then point me out a divine who knoweth less of the constitution of England than he; witness those many egregious blunders in his late papers, where he pretended to dabble in the subject.

But the clergy have, it seems, imbibed their notions of power and obedience, abhorrent from our laws, from the pompous ideas of imperial greatness, and the submission to absolute emperors. This is gross ignorance, below a schoolboy in his Lucius Florus. The Roman history wherein lads are instructed, reacheth little above eight hundred years, and the authors do every where instil republican principles; and from the account of nine in twelve of the first emperors we learn to have a detestation against tyranny. The Greeks carry this point yet a great deal higher, which none can be ignorant of, who hath read or heard them quoted. This gave Hobbes the occasion of advancing a position directly contrary, That the youth of England were corrupted in their political principles by reading the histories of Rome and Greece, which, having been written under republics, taught the readers to have ill notions of monarchy. In this assertion there was something specious, but that advanced by the Crisis, could only issue from the profoundest ignorance.

But would you know his scheme of education for

*The Right Honourable Robert Moleſworth, Esq; one of the privy council, and member of the house of Commons, created a peer by K. George I. The lower house of convocation there preferred a complaint against him for disrespectful words, which being represented in England, he was removed from the council; to justify him against this complaint, was the subject of Steele's letter. *Hawkeſ*

young

young gentlemen at the university? it is, That they should spend their time in perusing those acts of parliament, whereof his pamphlet is an extract, which if it had been done, the kingdom would not be in its present condition, but every member sent into the world thus instructed since the revolution, would have been an advocate for our rights and liberties.

Here now is a project for getting more money by the Crisis; to have it read by tutors in the universities. I thoroughly agree with him, that if our students had been thus employed for twenty years past, *the kingdom had not been in its present condition*: but we have too many of such proficient already among the young nobility and gentry, who have gathered up their politics from chocolate-houses, and factious clubs, and who if they had spent their time in hard study at Oxford, or Cambridge, we might indeed have said, that the factious part of this kingdom *had not been in its present condition*, or have suffered themselves to be taught, that a few acts of parliament, relating to the succession, are preferable to all other *civil institutions* whatsoever. Neither did I ever before hear, that an act of parliament relating to one particular point could be called a civil institution.

He spends almost a quarto page in telling the clergy, that they will be certainly perjured, if they bring in the pretender, whom they have abjured; and he wisely reminds them, that they have sworn without equivocation or mental reservation; otherwise the clergy might think, that as soon as they received the pretender, and turned Papists, they would be free from their oath.

This honest, civil, ingenious gentleman knows in his conscience, that there are not ten clergymen in England, except nonjurors, who do not abhor the thoughts of the pretender reigning over us, much more than himself. But this is the spittle of the Bishop of Sarum*, which our author licks up, and swallows, and then coughs out again with an addition of his own phlegm. I would fain suppose the body of the clergy were to return an answer by one of their members to these worthy counsellors. I conceive it might be in the following terms.

* Dr Gilbert Burnet.

My Lord, and Gentleman,

“THE clergy command me to give you thanks for your advice; and if they knew any crimes, from which either of you were as free, as they are from those which you so earnestly exhort them to avoid, they would return your favour as near as possible in the same style and manner. However, that your advice may not be wholly lost, particularly that part of it which relates to the pretender, they desire you would apply it to more proper persons. Look among your own leaders; examine which of them engaged in a plot to restore the late K. James, and received pardons under his seal; examine which of them have been since tampering with his pretended son, and, to gratify their ambition, their avarice, their malice and revenge, are now willing to restore him at the expence of the religion and liberty of their country. Retire, good my Lord, with your pupil, and let us hear no more of these hypocritical insinuations, lest the Queen and ministers, who have been hitherto content with only *disappointing* the lurking villainies of your faction, may be at last provoked to *expose* them.”

But his respect for the clergy is such, that he doth not insinuate, as if they really had these evil dispositions; he only *insinuates*, that they give *too much cause* for such *insinuations*.

I will, upon occasion, strip some of his *insinuations* from their generality and solecisms, and drag them into the light. His dedication to the clergy is full of them, because here he endeavours to mold up his rancour and civility together; by which constraint he is obliged to shorten his paragraphs, and to place them in such a light that they obscure one another. Supposing therefore, that I have scraped off his good manners in order to come at his meaning, which lies under; he tells the clergy, that the favour of the QUEEN and her ministers is but a *colour of zeal towards them*; that the people were deluded by a groundless cry of the church's danger at Sacheverel's trial; that the clergy, as they are *men of sense and honour*, ought to preach this truth to their several congregations; and let them know, that the true design

design of the present men in power in that, and all their proceedings since in favour of the church, was to bring in Popery, France, and the pretender, and to enslave all Europe, contrary to the *laws of our country, the power of the legislature, the faith of nations, and the honour of God.*

I cannot see why the clergy, as *men of sense and men of honour*, (for he appeals not to them as men of religion), should not be allowed to know when they are in danger, and be able to guess whence it comes, and who are their protectors. The design of their destruction indeed may have been projected in the dark: but when all was ripe, their enemies proceeded to so many overt acts in the face of the nation, that it was obvious to the meanest people, who wanted no other motives to rouse them. On the other side, can this author or the wisest of his faction, assign one single act of the present ministry any way tending towards bringing in the pretender, or to weaken the succession of the house of Hanover? Observe then the reasonableness of this gentleman's advice: the clergy, the gentry, and the common people had the utmost apprehensions of danger to the church under the late ministry; yet then it was the greatest impiety to *inflame the people with any such apprehensions*. His danger of a *Popish* successor from any steps of the present ministry is an artificial calumny, raised and spread against the conviction of the inventors, pretended to be believed only by those who abhor the constitution in church and state; an obdurate faction, who compass heaven and earth to restore themselves upon the ruin of their country; yet here our author *exhorts the clergy* to preach up this imaginary danger to their people, and disturb the public peace with his strained seditious comments.

But how comes this gracious licence to the clergy from the *Whigs* to concern themselves with politics of any sort, although it be only the glosses and comments of Mr Steele? The speeches of the managers at Sacheverel's trial, particularly those of Stanhope, Lechmere, King, Parker *, and some others, seemed to deliver a different doctrine. Nay, this very dedication complains of *some*

* These persons were created peers by K. George I.

in holy orders, who have made the constitution of their country (in which and the Coptic Mr Steele is equally skilled) a very little part of their study, and yet made obedience and government the frequent subjects of their discourses. This difficulty is easily solved; for by politics they mean obedience. Mr Hoadly *, who is a champion for resistance, was never charged with meddling out of his function; Hugh Peters, and his brethren, in the times of usurpation had full liberty to preach up sedition and rebellion; and so here Mr Steele issues out his licence to the clergy to preach up the *danger of a Popish pretender* in defiance of the QUEEN and her administration.

Every whiffler in a laced coat, who frequents the chocolate-house, and is able to spell the title of a pamphlet, shall talk of the constitution with as much plausibility as this very solemn writer, and with as good a grace blame the clergy for meddling with politics, which they do not understand. I have known many of these able politicians furnished before they were of age with all the necessary topics of their faction, and by the help of about twenty polysyllables capable of maintaining an argument, that would shine in the Crisis; whose author gathered up his little stock from the same schools, and hath written from no other fund.

But after all, it is not clear to me, whether this gentleman addresseth himself to the clergy of England in general, or only to those very few (hardly enough, in case of a change, to supply the mortality of those *self-denying prelates* he celebrates) who are in his principles, and among these only such as live in and about London; which probably will reduce the number to about half a dozen at most. I should incline to guess the latter; because he tells them they are surrounded by a learned, wealthy, knowing gentry, who know with what firmness, self-denial, and charity the bishops adhered to the public cause, and what contumelies those clergymen have undergone, &c. who adhered to the cause of truth. By those terms, the public cause, and the cause of truth, he understands

* Dr Benjamin Hoadly, created Bishop of Bangor by King George I. in 1715; translated to Hereford in 1721, to Salisbury in 1723, and to Winchester in 1734.

the *cause* of the Whigs, in opposition to the QUEEN and her servants ; therefore by the *learned, wealthy, and knowing gentry* he must understand the *bank and East-India company*, and those other merchants or citizens within the bills of mortality, who have been strenuous against the church and crown, and whose spirit of faction hath lately got the better of their interest. For let him search all the rest of the kingdom, he will find the *surrounded* clergy, and the *surrounding* gentry wholly strangers to the merits of those prelates ; and adhering to a very different *cause of truth*, as will soon, I hope, be manifest by a fair appeal to the representatives of both.

It was very unnecessary in this writer to bespeak the treatment of *contempt and derision*, which the clergy are to expect from his faction, whenever they come into power. I believe that venerable body is in very little concern after what manner their most mortal enemies intend to *treat* them, whenever it shall please God for our sins to visit us with so fatal an event ; which I hope it will be the united endeavours both of clergy and laity to hinder. It would be some support to this hope, if I could have any opinion of his predicting talent, (which some have ascribed to people of this author's character), where he tells us, that *noise and wrath will not always pass for zeal*. What other instances of zeal hath this gentleman or the rest of his party been able to produce ? If clamour be *noise*, it is but opening our ears to know from what side it comes ; and if sedition, scurrility, slander, and calumny be the fruit of *wrath*, read the pamphlets and papers issuing from the *zealots* of that faction, or visit their clubs and coffeehouses, in order to form a judgment of the tree.

When Mr Steele tells us, *we have religion that wants no support from the enlargement of secular power, but is well supported by the wisdom and piety of its preachers, and its own native truth* ; it would be good to know what religion he professeth : for the clergy to whom he speaks will never allow him a member of the church of England. They cannot agree, that the *truth* of the gospel, and the *piety and wisdom* of its preachers, are a sufficient support in an evil age against infidelity, faction, and vice, without the assistance of *secular power* ; unless

God would please to confer the gift of miracles on those who wait at the altar. I believe they venture to go a little further, and think, that upon some occasions they want a little *enlargement of assistance from the secular power against Atheists, Deists, Socinians, and other heretics*. Every first Sunday in Lent a part of the Liturgy is read to the people, in the preface to which the church declares her wishes for the restoring of that discipline she formerly had, and which, for some years past, hath been more wanted than ever. But of this no more, lest it might *insinuate jealousies between the clergy and laity*; which, the author tells us, is the *policy of vain ambitious men among the former, in hopes to derive from their order a veneration they cannot deserve from their virtue*. If this be their method for procuring veneration, it is the most singular that ever was thought on; and the clergy would then indeed have no more to do with politics of any sort than Mr Steele or his faction will allow them.

Having thus toiled through his dedication, I proceed to consider his preface, which, half consisting of quotation, will be so much the sooner got through. It is a very unfair thing in any writer to employ his *ignorance and malice* together; because it gives his answerer double work: it is like the sort of sophistry that the logicians call *two mediums*, which are never allowed in the same syllogism. A writer with a weak head, and a corrupt heart, is an over-match for any single pen; like a hireling jade, dull and vicious, hardly able to stir, yet offering at every turn to kick.

He begins his preface with such an account of the original of power, and the nature of civil institutions, as I am confident was never once imagined by any writer upon government, from Plato to Mr Locke. Give me leave to transcribe his first paragraph. *I never saw an unruly croud of people cool by degrees into temper, but it gave me an idea of the original of power, and the nature of civil institutions. One particular man has usually in those cases, from the dignity of his appearance, or other qualities known or imagined by the multitude, been received into sudden favour and authority; the occasion of their difference has been represented to him, and the matter referred to his decision.*

I hav

I have known a poet, who never was out of England, introduce a fact by way of simile, which could probably nowhere happen nearer than in the plains of Lybia; and begin with, *So I have seen* *. Such a fiction, I suppose, may be justified by poetical licence; yet Virgil is much more modest. This paragraph of Mr Steele's, which he sets down as an observation of his own, is a miserable mangled translation of six verses out of that famous poet, who speaks after this manner: *As when a sedition arises in a great multitude, &c. then if they see a wise grave man, &c.* Virgil, who lived but a little after the ruin of the Roman republic, where seditions often happened, and the force of oratory was great among the people, made use of a simile, which Mr Steele turns into a fact after such a manner, as if he had seen it an hundred times; and builds upon it a system of the origin of government. When the vulgar here in England assemble in a riotous manner, (which is not very frequent of late years), the prince takes a much more effectual way than that of sending orators to appease them: but Mr Steele imagines such a croud of people as this, where there is no government at all; their *unruliness* quelled, and their passions cooled by a particular man, whose great qualities they had known before. Such an assembly must have risen suddenly from the earth, and the *man of authority* dropt from the clouds; for without some previous form of government no such croud did ever yet assemble, or could possibly be acquainted with the merits and dignity of any particular man among them. But to pursue his scheme; this man of authority; who *cools* the *croud* by degrees, and to whom they all appeal, must of necessity prove either an open or clandestine tyrant. A clandestine tyrant I take to be a king of Brentford, who keeps his army in disguise; and when he happens either to die naturally, be knocked on the head, or deposed, the people *calmly* take further measures and improve upon what was begun under his unlimited power. All this our author tells us, with extreme propriety, is what seems reasonable to common sense; that is, in other words, it seems reasonable to reason. This is what he calls giving an idea of the original of power, and

* See the *Περί βίβας*, vol. 5. p. 68.

the nature of civil institutions. To which I answer, with great phlegm, that I defy any man alive to shew me, in double the number of lines, although writ by the same author, such a complicated ignorance in history, human nature, or politics, as well as in the ordinary proprieties of thought or of style.

But it seems these profound speculations were only premised to introduce some quotations in favour of *resistance*. What hath *resistance* to do with the succession of the house of Hanover, that the Whig writers should perpetually affect to tag them together? I can conceive nothing else, but that their hatred to the QUEEN and ministry puts them upon thoughts of introducing the successor by *another* revolution. Are cases of *extreme necessity* to be produced as common maxims, by which we are always to proceed? Should not these gentlemen sometimes inculcate the general rule of obedience, and not always the exception of resistance? since the former hath been the perpetual dictate of all laws both divine and civil, and the latter is still in dispute.

I shall meddle with none of the passages he cites to prove the lawfulness of resisting princes, except that from the present Lord Chancellor's * speech in defence of Dr Sacheverel; that *there are extraordinary cases, cases of necessity, which are implied, although not expressed, in the general rule* [of obedience]. These words, very clear in themselves; Mr Steele explains into nonsense; which in any other author I should suspect to have been intended as a reflection upon as great a person as ever filled or adorned that high station: but I am so well acquainted with his pen, that I much more wonder how it can trace out a true quotation than a false comment. To see him treat my Lord Harecourt with so much civility, looks indeed a little suspicious, and as if he had malice in his heart. He calls his Lordship *a very great man*, and *a great living authority*; places himself in company with Gen. Stanhope and Mr Hoadley; and, in short, takes the

* Sir Simon Harcourt, who, at the time of Sacheverel's trial, had resigned his place of attorney-general, which he afterwards accepted again; upon the change of the ministry, he was made Lord Keeper, and in 1721 created a baron. *Hawkes*.

most effectual method in his power of ruining his Lordship in the opinion of every man, who is wise or good. I can only tell my Lord Harcourt for his comfort, that these praises are encumbered with the doctrine of *resistance*, and the true revolution-principles; and provided he will not allow Mr Steele for his commentator, he may hope to recover the honour of being libelled again, as well as his sovereign and fellow-servants.

We now come to the Crisis; where we meet with two pages by way of introduction to those extracts from acts of parliament, that constitute the body of his pamphlet. This introduction begins with a definition of liberty, and then proceeds in a panegyric upon that great blessing. His panegyric is made up of half a dozen shreds, like a schoolboy's theme, beaten general topics, where any other man alive might wander securely; but this politician, by venturing to vary the good old phrases, and give them a new turn, commits an hundred solecisms and absurdities. The weighty truths, which he endeavours to press upon his reader, are such as these. *That liberty is a very good thing; that without liberty we cannot be free; that health is good, and strength is good, but liberty is better than either; that no man can be happy without the liberty of doing whatever his own mind tells him is best; that men of quality love liberty, and common people love liberty; even women and children love liberty; and you cannot please them better than by letting them do what they please. Had Mr Steele contented himself to deliver these and the like maxims in such intelligible terms, I could have found where we agreed and where we differed. But let us hear some of these axioms, as he hath involved them. We cannot possess our souls with pleasure and satisfaction, except we preserve in ourselves that inestimable blessing, which we call liberty. By liberty I desire to be understood to mean the happiness of mens living, &c.—The true life of man consists in conducting it according to his own just sentiments and innocent inclinations—man's being is degraded below that of a free agent, when his affections and passions are no longer governed by the dictates of his own mind.—Without liberty our health (among other things) may be at the will of a tyrant employed to our own ruin and*

that of our fellow-creatures. If there be any of these maxims which is not grossly defective in truth, in sense, or in grammar, I will allow them to pass for uncontrollable. By the first, omitting the pedantry of the whole expression, there are not above one or two nations in the world, where any one man can *possess his soul with pleasure and satisfaction.* In the second, he *desires to be understood to mean*; that is, he desires to be meant to mean, or to be understood to understand. In the third, *the life of man consists in conducting his life.* In the fourth he affirms, that *mens beings are degraded, when their passions are no longer governed by the dictates of their own minds*; directly contrary to the lessons of all moralists and legislators; who agree unanimously, that the passions of men must be under the government of reason and law; neither are laws of any other use than to correct the irregularity of our affections. By the last, *our health is ruinous to ourselves and other men when a tyrant pleases*; which I leave to him to make out.

I cannot sufficiently commend our ancestors for transmitting to us the blessing of liberty; yet having *laid out their blood and treasure upon the purchase*, I do not see how they *acted parsimoniously*; because I can conceive nothing more generous than that of employing our blood and treasure for the service of others. But I am suddenly struck with the thought, that I have found his meaning; our ancestors acted parsimoniously, because they only spent their own treasure for the good of their posterity; whereas we squandered away the treasures of our posterity too; but whether they will be thankful, and think it was done for the preservation of their liberty, must be left to themselves for a decision.

I verily believe, although I could not prove it in Westminster-hall before a Lord Chief Justice, that by *enemies to our constitution, and enemies to our present establishment*, Mr Steele would desire to be understood to mean my Lord Treasurer and therest of the ministry: by *those who are grown supine in proportion to the danger to which our liberty is every day more exposed*, I should guess he means the Tories: and by *honest men who ought to look up with a spirit that becomes honesty*, he understands the Whigs. I likewise believe he would take it ill, or think

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me stupid, if I did not thus expound him. I say then, that, according to this exposition, the four great officers of state, together with the rest of the cabinet-council (except the Archbishop of Canterbury*), are *enemies to our establishment, making artful and open attacks upon our constitution, and are now practising indirect arts, and mean subtilties to weaken the security of those acts of parliament* for settling the succession in the house of Hanover. The first and most notorious of these criminals is, Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, Lord High Treasurer, who is reputed to be chief minister: the second is, James Butler, Duke of Ormond, who commands the army, and designs to employ it in bringing over the pretender: the third is, Henry St John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, secretary of state, who must be supposed to hold a constant correspondence at the court of Bar le Due, as the late Earl of Godolphin did with that at St Germain: and to avoid tediousness, Mr Bromley†, and the rest, are employed in their several districts to the same end. These are the opinions which Mr Steele and his faction, under the direction of their leaders, are endeavouring, with all their might, to propagate among the people of England concerning the present ministry; with what reservation to the honour, wisdom, or justice of the QUEEN, I cannot determine; who, by her own free choice, after long experience of their abilities and integrity, and in compliance to the general wishes of her people, called them to her service. Such an accusation against persons in so high trust should require, I think, at least one single overt act to make it good. If there be no other choice of persons fit to serve the crown without danger from the pretender, except among those who are called the Whig party, the Hanover succession is then indeed in a very desperate state: that illustrious family will have almost nine in ten of the kingdom against it, and those principally of the landed interest; which is most to be depended upon in such a nation as ours.

I have now got as far as his extracts, which I shall not be at the pains of comparing with the originals, but sup-

* Dr Tennison.

† Speaker of the house of Commons.

pose he hath gotten them fairly transcribed: I only think, that whoever is patentee for printing acts of parliament may have a very fair action against him for invasion of property: but this is none of my business to inquire into.

After two and twenty pages spent in reciting acts of parliament, *he desires leave to repeat the history and progress of the union*; upon which I have some few things to observe.

This work, he tells us, *was unsuccessfully attempted by several of her Majesty's predecessors*; although I do not remember * it was ever thought on by any except K. James I. and the late K. William. I have read indeed that some small overtures were made by the former of these princes towards an union between the two kingdoms, but rejected with indignation and contempt by the English: and the historian tells us, that how degenerate and corrupt soever the court and parliament then were, they would not give ear to so infamous a proposal. I do not find, that any of the succeeding princes before the revolution ever resumed the design; because it was a project for which there could not possibly be assigned the least reason or necessity; for I defy any mortal to name one single advantage that England could ever expect from such an union.

But towards the end of the late King's reign, upon apprehensions of the want of issue from him or the Princess Anne, a proposition for uniting both kingdoms was begun; because Scotland had not settled their crown upon the house of Hanover, but left themselves at large in hopes to make their advantage; and it was thought highly dangerous to leave that part of the island, inhabited by a poor fierce northern people, at liberty to put themselves under a different king. However, the opposition to this work was so great, that it could not be overcome until some time after her present Majesty came to the crown; when by the weakness or corruption of a certain minister, since dead, an act of parliament was obtained for the Scots, which gave them leave to arm themselves†; and so the

* The author's memory failed him a little in this assertion, as one of his answerers observed.

† See the Examiner, No XIX. at the end, vol. 2.

union became necessary, not for any actual good it could possibly do us, but to avoid a probable evil; and at the same time save an obnoxious minister's head; who was so wise as to take the first opportunity of procuring a general pardon by act of parliament, because he could not, with so much decency and safety, desire a particular one for himself. These facts are well enough known to the whole kingdom. And I remember, discoursing above six years ago with the most considerable * person of the adverse party, and a great promoter of the union, he frankly owned to me, that this necessity, brought upon us by the wrong management of the Earl of Godolphin, was the only cause of the union.

Therefore I am ready to grant two points to the author of the Crisis: *first*, That the union became necessary for the cause above related; because it prevented this island from being governed by two kings; which England would never have suffered; and it might probably have cost us a war of a year or two to reduce the Scots. *Secondly*, That it would be dangerous to break this union, at least in this juncture, while there is a pretender abroad, who might probably lay hold of such an opportunity. And this made me wonder a little at the spirit of faction last summer among some people, who having been the great promoters of the union, and several of them the principal gainers by it †, could yet proceed so far as to propose in the house of Lords, that it should be dissolved; while at the same time those peers, who had ever opposed it in the beginning, were then for preserving it, upon the reason I have just assigned, and which the author of the Crisis hath likewise taken notice of.

* Lord Somers.

† The Duke of Argyle, who zealously promoted the union, the Earl of Mar, Mr Lockhart, and Mr Cockburn, having been deputed on purpose, remonstrated to the Queen against the maltax, which they said would probably prompt the Scots to declare the union dissolved. The Earl of Findlater soon after moved the house of Lords, for leave to bring in a bill for dissolving the union. He was seconded by the Earl of Mar, and supported by Lord Eglington, the Earl of Hay, the Duke of Argyle, and others. *Hawkes*.

But

But when he tells us, *the Englishmen ought, in generosity, to be more particularly careful in preserving this union*, he argues like himself. *The late kingdom of Scotland*, saith he, *had as numerous a nobility as England, &c.* They had indeed; and to that we owe one of the great and necessary evils of the union upon the foot it now stands. Their nobility is indeed so numerous, that the whole revenues of their country would be hardly able to maintain them according to the dignity of their titles; and what is infinitely worse, they are never likely to be extinct until the last period of all things; because the greatest part of them descend to heirs general. I imagine a person of quality prevailed on to marry a woman much his inferior, and without a groat to her fortune, and her friends arguing she was as good as her husband, because she brought him as numerous a family of relations and servants as she found in his house. Scotland, in the taxes, is obliged to contribute one penny for every forty pence laid upon England; and the representatives they send to parliament are about a thirteenth. Every other Scots peer hath all the privileges of an English one, except that of sitting in parliament, and even precedence before all of the same title that shall be created for the time to come. The pensions and employments possessed by the natives of that country now among us, do amount to more than the whole body of their nobility ever spent at home; and all the money they raise upon the public is hardly sufficient to defray their civil and military lists. I could point out some with great titles, who affected to appear very vigorous for dissolving the union, although their whole revenues before that period would have ill maintained a Welsh justice of the peace; and have since gathered more money than ever any Scotsman, who had not travelled, could form an idea of.

I have only one thing more to say upon occasion of the union-act; which is, that the author of the Crisis may be fairly proved, from his own citations, to be guilty of HIGH TREASON. In a paper of his called the Englishman, of October 29. there is an advertisement about taking in subscriptions for printing the Crisis, where the title is published at length with the following clause, which the author thought fit to drop in the publication; [*and that*

no power on earth can bar, alter, or make void the present settlement of the crown, &c. By Richard Steele.] In his extract of an act of parliament made since the union, it appears to be *high treason for any person, by writing or printing, to maintain and affirm, that the kings or queens of this realm, with and by the authority of parliament, are not able to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to limit and bind the crown, and the descent, limitation, inheritance, and government thereof.* This act being subsequent to the settlement of the crown, confirmed at the union, it is probable some friend of the author advised him to leave out those *treasonable* words in the printed title-page, which he had before published in the *advertisement*; and accordingly we find, that in the treatise itself he only offers it to every good subject's consideration, whether this article of the settlement of the crown is not as firm as the union itself, and as the settlement of Episcopacy in England, &c. And he thinks the Scots understood it so, that the succession to the crown was never to be controverted.

These I take to be only treasonable insinuations; but the advertisement before-mentioned is actually *high treason*; for which the author ought to be prosecuted, if that would avail any thing under a jurisdiction, where cursing the QUEEN is not above the penalty of twenty marks.

Nothing is more notorious than that the *Whigs* of late years, both in their writings and discourses, have affected, upon all occasions, to allow the legitimacy of the pretender. This makes me a little wonder to see our author labouring to prove the contrary, by producing all the popular chat of those times, and other solid arguments from Fuller's narrative: but it must be supposed, that this gentleman acts by the commands of his superiors, who have thought fit at this juncture to issue out new orders, for reasons best known to themselves. I wish they had been more clear in their directions to him upon that weighty point, whether the settlement of the succession in the house of Hanover be alterable or no. I have observed where, in his former pages, he gives it in the negative; but in the turning of a leaf, he hath wholly changed his mind. He tells us, *he wonders there can be found any Briton weak enough to contend against a*
power

power in their own nation, which is practised in a much greater degree in other states : and how hard it is, that Britain should be debarred the privilege of establishing its own security, by relinquishing only those branches of the royal line, which threaten it with destruction ; whilst other nations never scruple upon less occasions to go much greater lengths ; of which he produceth instances in France, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia ; and then adds, can Great Britain help to advance men to other thrones, and have no power in limiting its own ? How can a senator, capable of doing honour to Sir Thomas Hanmer, be guilty of such ridiculous inconsistencies ? The author of the *Conduct of the allies*, says he, hath dared to drop insinuations about altering the succession. The author of the *Conduct of the allies* writes sense and English ; neither of which the author of the *Crisis* understands. The former thinks it wrong in point of policy to call in a foreign power to be guarantee of our succession, because it puts it out of the power of our own legislature to change our succession without the consent of that prince or state who is guarantee, whatever necessity may happen in future times. Now, if it be high treason to affirm by writing, that the legislature hath no such power ; and if Mr Steele thinks it strange, that Britain should be debarred this privilege, what could be the crime of putting such a case, that in future ages a necessity might happen of limiting the succession, as well as it hath happened already ?

When Mr Steele reflects upon the many solemn, strong barriers (to our succession) of laws and oaths, &c. he thinks all fear vanisheth before them. I think so too, provided the epithet *solemn* goes for nothing ; because, although I have often heard of a *solemn* day, a *solemn* feast, and a *solemn* coxcomb, yet I can conceive no idea to myself of a *solemn* barrier. However, be that as it will, his thoughts, it seems, will not let him rest, but, before he is aware, he asks himself several questions ; and since he cannot resolve them, I will endeavour to give him what satisfaction I am able. The first is, *What are the marks of a lasting security ?* To which I answer, that the signs of it in a kingdom or state are, first, good laws ; and, secondly, those laws well executed : we are pretty well provided with the former, but extremely defective

fective in the latter.—Secondly, *What are our tempers and our hearts at home?* If by *ours* he means those of himself and his abettors, they are most damnably wicked; impatient for the death of the QUEEN; ready to gratify their ambition and revenge by all desperate methods; wholly alienate from truth, law, religion, mercy, conscience, or honour.—Thirdly, *In what hands is power lodged abroad?* To answer the question naturally, Louis XIV. is King of France, Philip V. (by the counsels and acknowledgments of the Whigs) is King of Spain, and so on. If by power he means money; the Duke of Marlborough is thought to have more ready money than all the kings of Christendom together; but by the peculiar disposition of providence it is locked up in a trunk, to which his ambition hath no key; and that is our security.—Fourthly, *Are our unnatural divisions our strength?* I think not; but they are the sign of it, for being *unnatural* they cannot last; and this shews, that *union*, the foundation of all strength, is more agreeable to our nature.—Fifthly, *Is it nothing to us, which of the princes of Europe has the longest sword?* Not much, if we can tie up his hands, or put a strong *shield* into those of his neighbours; or if our *sword* be as *sharp* as his is *long*; or if it be necessary for him to turn his *own sword* into a *ploughshare*; or if such a *sword* happeneth to be in the hands of an *infant*, or struggled for by two competitors.—Sixthly, *The powerful hand that deals out crowns and kingdoms all around us, may it not in time reach a king out to us too?* If the *powerful hand* he means be that of France, it may *reach out* as many kings as it pleaseth; but we will not accept them. Whence does this man get his intelligence? I should think, even his brother Ridpath might furnish him with better. What *crowns* or *kingdoms* hath France dealt about? Spain was given by the will of the former King, in consequence of that infamous treaty of *partition*, the adviser of which will, I hope, never be forgot in England. Sicily was disposed of by her Majesty of Great Britain; so in effect was Sardinia. France indeed once *reached out* a king to Poland, but the people would not receive him. This question of Mr Steele's was therefore only put *in terrorem*, without any regard to truth.—Seventhly,

Are there no pretensions to our crown that can ever be revived? There may, for ought I know, be about a dozen; and those in time may possibly beget a hundred; but we must do as well as we can. Captain Bessus, when he had fifty challenges to answer, protested he could not fight above three duels a-day. *If the pretender should fail*, says the writer, *the French King has in his quiver a succession of them; the Duchess of Savoy, or her sons, or the Dauphin her grandson.* Let me suppose the Chevalier de St George to be dead; the Duchess of Savoy will then be a *pretender*, and consequently must leave her husband, because his Royal Highness (for Mr Steele has not yet acknowledged him for a king) is in alliance with her British Majesty; her sons when they grow *pretenders*, must undergo the same fate. But I am at a loss how to dispose of the Dauphin, if he happen to be King of France before the *pretendership* to Britain falls to his share; for I doubt he will never be persuaded to remove out of his own kingdom, only because it is too near England.

But *the Duke of Savoy did, some years ago, put in his claim to the crown of England in right of his wife, and he is a prince of great capacity, in strict alliance with France, and may therefore very well add to our fears of a Popish successor.* Is it the fault of the present, or of any ministry, that this prince put in his claim? must we give him opium to destroy his *capacity*? or can we prevent his alliance with any prince, who is in peace with her Majesty? Must we send to stab or poison all the *Popish* princes, who have any pretended title to our crown by the proximity of blood? What, in the name of God, can these people drive at! what is it they demand! Suppose the present Dauphin were now a man, and King of France, and next *Popish* heir to the crown of England; is he not excluded by the laws of the land? But what regard will he have to our laws? I answer, Hath not the QUEEN as good a title to the crown of France? and how is she excluded, but by their law against the succession of females, which we are not bound to acknowledge? And is it not in our power to exclude female successors, as well as in theirs? If such a pretence shall prove the cause of a war, what human power can prevent it! But our cause must necessarily be good and righteous; for either

ther the kings of England have been unjustly kept out of the possession of France, or the Dauphin, although nearest of kin, can have no legal title to England. And he must be an ill prince indeed, who will not have the hearts and hands of ninety-nine in an hundred among his subjects against such a *Popish pretender*.

I have been the longer in answering the seventh question, because it led me to consider all he had afterwards to say upon the subject of the *pretender*.—Eighthly, and lastly, he asks himself, *Whether Popery and Ambition are become tame and quiet neighbours?* In this I can give him no satisfaction, because I never was in that street where they live; nor do I converse with any of their friends; only I find they are persons of a very evil reputation. But I am told for certain, that *Ambition* hath removed her lodging, and lives the very next door to *Faction*, where they keep such a racket, that the whole parish is disturbed, and every night in an uproar.

Thus much in answer to those eight *uneasy questions* put by the author to himself in order to *satisfy every Briton*, and give him an occasion of *taking an impartial view of the affairs of Europe in general, as well as of Great Britain in particular*.

After enumerating the great actions of the *confederate armies* under the command of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, Mr Steele observes, in the bitterness of his soul, that the *British general, however unaccountable it may be to posterity, was not permitted to enjoy the fruits of his glorious labour*. Ten years *fruits*, it seems, were not sufficient; and yet they were the fruit-fullest campaigns that ever any general cropt. However, I cannot but hope, that posterity will not be left in the dark, but some care taken both of her Majesty's glory, and the reputation of those she employs. An impartial historian may tell the world (and the next age will easily believe what it continues to feel), that the avarice and ambition of a few factious insolent subjects had almost destroyed their country, by continuing a ruinous war in conjunction with allies, for whose sakes principally we fought, who refused to bear their just proportion of the charge, and were connived at in their refusal, for private ends: that these factious people treated the best and

kindest of sovereigns with insolence, cruelty, and ingratitude (of which he will be able to produce several instances): that they encouraged persons and principles alien from our religion and government in order to strengthen their faction: he will tell the reasons, why the *general* and *first minister* were seduced to be heads of this faction, contrary to the opinions they had always professed. Such an historian will shew many reasons, which made it necessary to remove the general and his friends, who, knowing the bent of the nation was against them, expected to lose their power when the war was at an end. Particularly, the historian will discover the whole intrigue of the Duke of Marlborough's endeavouring to procure a commission to be *general for life* *; wherein justice will be done to a person at that time of high station in the law, who (I mention it to his honour) advised the Duke, when he was consulted upon it, not to accept of such a *commission*. By these and many other instances, which time will bring to light, it may perhaps appear not very unaccountable to posterity, why this great man was dismissed at last; but rather why he was dismissed no sooner.

But this is entering into a wide field, I shall therefore leave *posterity* to the information of better historians than the author of the Crisis, or myself; and go on to inform the present age in some facts, which this great orator and politician thinks fit to misrepresent with the utmost degree either of natural or wilful ignorance. He asserts, that in the Duke of Ormond's campaign, *after a suspension of arms between Great Britain and France, proclaimed at the head of the armies, the British troops, in the midst of the enemy's garrisons, withdrew themselves from their confederates*. The fact is directly otherwise; for the British troops were most *inamously* deserted by the confederates, after all that could be urged by the Duke of Ormond and the Earl of Strafford to press the confederate generals not to forsake them. The Duke was directed to avoid engaging in any action, until he had further orders, because an account of the King of Spain's

* See the Examiner, No XIX. and the subsequent papers, vol. 2.

renunciation was every day expected: this the Imperialists and Dutch knew well enough; and therefore proposed to the Duke, in that very juncture, to engage the French, for no other reason but to render desperate all the QUEEN's measures towards a peace. Was not the certain possession of Dunkirk of equal advantage to the uncertainty of a battle? A whole campaign under the Duke of Marlborough, with such an acquisition, although at the cost of many thousand lives, and several millions of money, would have been thought very gloriously ended.

Neither, after all, was it a new thing either in the British general or the Dutch deputies to refuse fighting, when they did not approve it. When the Duke of Marlborough was going to invest Bouchain, the deputies of the States pressed him in vain to engage the enemy; and one of them was so far discontented upon his Grace's refusal, that he presently became a partisan of the peace; yet I do not remember any clamour then raised here against the Duke upon that account. Again, when the French invaded Doway, after the confederates had deserted the Duke of Ormond, Prince Eugene was violently bent upon a battle, and said, they should never have another so good an opportunity; but Monsieur —, a private deputy, rose up, and opposed it so far, that the Prince was forced to desist. Was it then more criminal in the Duke of Ormond to refuse fighting by express command of the QUEEN, and in order to get possession of Dunkirk, than for the Duke of Marlborough to give the same refusal without any such orders, or any such advantage? or shall a Dutch deputy assume more power than the QUEEN of Great Britain's general, acting by the immediate commands of his sovereign?

The *Emperor and the empire* (says Mr Steele, by way of admiration) *continue the war!* Is his Imperial Majesty able to continue it or no? if he be, then Great Britain hath been strangely used for ten years past: then how came it to pass, that of above thirty thousand men in his service in Italy at the time of the battle of Turin, there were not above four thousand paid by himself? if he be not able to continue it, why does he go on? The reasons are clear; because the war only affects the princes

of the empire (whom he is willing enough to expose), but not his own dominions. Besides, the Imperial ministers are in daily expectation of the QUEEN'S death, which they hope will give a new turn to affairs, and rekindle the war in Europe upon the old foot; and we know how the ministers of that court publicly assign it for a reason of their obstinacy against peace, that they hope for a sudden revolution in England. In the mean time this appearance of the Emperor's being forsaken by his ally, will serve to increase the clamour, both here and in Holland, against her Majesty and those she employs.

Mr Steele says, *there can be no crime in affirming, if it be truth, that the house of Bourbon is at this juncture become more formidable, and bids fairer for an universal monarchy, and to ingross the whole trade of Europe, than it did before the war.*

No crime in affirming it, if it be truth. I will for once allow his proposition. But if it be false, then I affirm, that whoever advanceth so seditious a falsehood deserves to be hanged. Doth he mean by the house of Bourbon, the two kings of France and Spain? If so, I reject his meaning, which would insinuate, that the interests and designs of both those princes will be the same; whereas they are more opposite than those of any two other monarchs in Christendom. This is the old foolish slander so frequently flung upon the peace, and as frequently refuted. These factious undertakers of the press write with great advantage; they strenuously affirm a thousand falsehoods without fear, wit, conscience, or knowledge; and we, who answer them, must be at the expence of an argument for each; after which, in the very next pamphlet we see the same assertions produced again, without the least notice of what hath been said to disprove them. By the house of Bourbon doth he mean only the French King for the time being: if so, and his assertion be true, then that prince must either deal with the devil, or else the money and blood spent in our ten years victories against him, might as well have continued in the purses and veins of her Majesty's subjects.

But the particular assertions of this author are easier detected than his general ones; I shall therefore proceed upon examining the former. For instance: I desire him
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to ask the Dutch, who can best inform him, *why they delivered up Traerbach to the Imperialists?* for, as to the QUEEN, her Majesty was never once consulted in it; whatever his preceptors, the politicians of Button's coffee-house, may have informed him to the contrary.

Mr Steele affirms, that *the French have begun the demolition of Dunkirk contemptuously and arbitrarily their own way.* The governor of the town, and those gentlemen intrusted with the inspection of this work, do assure me, that the fact is altogether otherwise; that the method prescribed by those whom her Majesty employs, hath been exactly followed, and that the works are already demolished. I will venture to tell him further, that the demolition was so long deferred in order to remove those difficulties, which the barrier-treaty hath put us under; and the event hath shewn, that it was prudent to proceed no faster, until those difficulties were got over. The mole and harbour could not be destroyed, until the ships were got out; which, by reason of some profound secrets of state, did not happen until the other day. Who gave him those just suspicions, that the mole and harbour will never be destroyed? what is it he would now insinuate? that the ministry is bribed to leave the most important part of the work undone; or that the pretender is to invade us from thence; or that the QUEEN hath entered into a conspiracy with her servants to prevent the good effects of the peace, for no other end, but to lose the affections of her people, and endanger herself.

Instead of any further information, which I could easily give, but which no honest man can want, I venture to affirm, that the mole and harbour of Dunkirk will, in a short time, be most effectually destroyed; and at the same time I venture to prophesy, that neither Mr Steele, nor his faction will ever confess they believe it.

After all, it is a little hard, that the QUEEN cannot be allowed to demolish this town in whatever manner she pleases to fancy. Mr Steele must have it done his own way, and is angry the French have pretended to do it theirs; and yet he wrongs them into the bargain. For my own part, I do seriously think the Most Christian King to be a much better friend of her Majesty's than Mr Steele, or any of his faction. Besides, it is to be considered,
that

that he is a monarch and a relation; and therefore, if I were a privy counsellor, and my advice to be asked, which of those two GENTLEMEN BORN* should have the direction in the demolition of Dunkirk, I would give it for the former; because I look upon Mr Steele, in quality of a member of his party, to be much more skilful in *demolishing at home than abroad*.

There is a prospect of more danger to the balance of Europe, and to the trade of Britain, from the Emperor over-running Italy, than from France over-running the *empire*; that his Imperial Majesty entertains such thoughts, is visible to the world: and although little can be said to justify many actions of the French King, yet the worst of them have never equalled the Emperor's arbitrary keeping the possession of Milan, directly contrary to his oath, and to the express words of the *golden bull*, which oblige him to deliver up every *sief* that falls, or else they must all, in the course of time, lapse into his own hands.

I was at a loss, who it was that Mr Steele hinted at some time ago, by the *powerful hand that deals out crowns and kingdoms all around us*: I now plainly find he meant no other hand but his own. He hath dealt out the crown of Spain to France; to France he hath given leave to invade the *empire* next spring with two hundred thousand men; and now at last he deals to France the *Imperial* dignity; and so farewell liberty; *Europe will be French*. But in order to bring all this about, the capital of *Austria*, the residence of his Imperial Majesty, must continue to be visited by the *plague*, of which the Emperor must die, and so the thing is done.

Why should not I venture to *deal out one sceptre* in my turn, as well as Mr Steele? I therefore *deal out the empire* to the Elector of Saxony, upon failure of issue to this Emperor at his death; provided the Whigs will prevail on the *son* to turn *Papist* to get an *empire*, as they did upon the *father* to get a *kingdom*. Or if this prince be not approved of, I *deal it out* in his stead to the Elector of Bavaria: and in one or the other of these I dare engage to have all Christendom to second me, whatever the

* Mr Steele often styles himself so.

spleen, in the shape of politics, may dictate to the author of the Crisis.

The design of Mr Steele in *representing the circumstances of the affairs of Europe* is to signify to the world, that all Europe is put in the high road to slavery by the corruption of her Majesty's present ministers; and so he goes on to Portugal; which, *having during the war supplied us with gold, in exchange for our woollen manufacture, hath only at present a suspension of arms for its protection, to last no longer than till the Catalonians are reduced; and then the old pretensions of Spain to Portugal will be revived:* and Portugal, when once enslaved by Spain, falls naturally with the rest of Europe into the gulf of France. In the mean time let us see, what relief a little truth can give this unhappy kingdom. That Portugal hath yet no more than a suspension of arms, they may thank themselves, because they came so late into the treaty; and that they came so late, they may thank the Whigs, whose false representations they were so weak to believe. However, the QUEEN hath voluntarily given them a guarantee to defend them against Spain, until the peace shall be made; and such terms after the peace are stipulated for them, as the Portuguese themselves are contented with.

Having mentioned the Catalonians, he puts the question, *Who can name the Catalonians without a tear?* That can I; for he hath told so many melancholy stories without one syllable of truth, that he hath blunted the edge of my fears, and I shall not be startled at the worst he can say. What he affirms concerning the Catalonians, is included in the following particulars; first, *that they were drawn into the war by the encouragement of the maritime powers; by which are understood England and Holland;* but he is too good a friend of the Dutch to give them any part of the blame. Secondly, *that they are now abandoned and exposed to the resentment of an enraged prince.* Thirdly, *that they always opposed the person and interest of that prince, who is their present King.* Lastly, *that the doom is dreadful of those, who shall, in the sight of God, be esteemed their destroyers.* And if we interpret the insinuation he makes, according to his own mind, the destruction of those people must be imputed to the present ministry.

I am

I am sometimes, in charity, disposed to hope, that this writer is not always sensible of the flagrant falsehoods he utters, but is either biased by an inclination to believe the worst, or a want of judgment to chuse his informers. That the Catalonians were *drawn into the war by the encouragement of her Majesty*, should not in decency have been affirmed until about fifty years hence; when it might be supposed there would be no living witness left to disprove it. It was only upon the assurances of a revolt given by the Prince of Hesse and others, and their invitation, that the Queen was prevailed with to send her forces upon that expedition. When Barcelona was taken by a most unexpected accident of a bomb lighting on the magazine, then indeed the Catalonians revolted, having before submitted and sworn allegiance to Philip, as much as any other province of Spain. Upon the peace between that crown and Britain, the QUEEN, in order to ease the Emperor, and save his troops, stipulated with King Philip for a neutrality in Italy, and that his Imperial Majesty should have liberty to evacuate Catalonia; upon condition of absolute indemnity to the Catalonians, with an entire restitution to their honours, dignities, and estates. As this neutrality was never observed by the Emperor, so he never effectually evacuated Catalonia; for although he sent away the main body, he left behind many officers and private men, who now spirit up and assist those obstinate people to continue in their rebellion. It is true indeed that King Philip did not absolutely *restore* the Catalans to *all* their old privileges, of which they never made other use than as an encouragement to rebel; but admitted them to the same privileges with his subjects of Castile, particularly to the liberty of trading, and having employments in the West Indies, which they *never enjoyed before*. Besides, the QUEEN reserved to herself the power of procuring farther immunities for them, wherein the Most Christian King was obliged to second her: for his Catholic Majesty intended no more than to retrench those privileges, under the pretext of which they now rebel, as they had formerly done in favour of France. *How dreadful then must be the doom of those* who hindered these people from submitting to the gentle terms offered them by their prince! and who
 although

although they be conscious of their own inability to furnish one single ship for the support of the Catalans, are at this instant spurring them on to their ruin by promises of aid and protection!

Thus much in answer to Mr Steele's account of the affairs of Europe; from which he deduceth the universal monarchy of France, and the danger of I know not how many *Popish successors* to Britain. His political reflections are as good as his facts. *We must observe*, says he, *that the person who seems to be the most favoured by the French King in the late treaties, is the Duke of Savoy.* Extremely right; for whatever that prince got by the peace, he owes entirely to her Majesty, as a just reward for his having been so firm and useful an ally; neither was France brought with more difficulty to yield any one point than that of allowing the Duke such a barrier as the QUEEN insisted on.

He is become the most powerful prince in Italy. I had rather see him so than the Emperor. *He is supposed to have entered into a secret and strict alliance with the house of Bourbon.* This is one of those facts wherein I am most inclined to believe the author, because it is what he must needs be utterly ignorant of, and therefore may possibly be true.

I thought indeed we should be safe from all *Popish successors* as far as Italy, because of the prodigious clutter about sending the pretender thither. But they will never agree where to fix their *longitude*. The Duke of Savoy is the more dangerous for removing to Sicily: he adds to our fears for being too near. So whether France conquer Germany, or be in peace and good understanding with it, either event will put us and Holland at the mercy of France, which hath a quiver full of pretenders at its back, whenever the Chevalier shall die.

This was just the logic of poor Prince Butler, a splenetic madman, whom every body may remember about the town. Prince Pamphilio in Italy employed emissaries to torment Prince Butler here. But what if Prince Pamphilio die? Why then he had left in his will, that his heirs and executors torment Prince Butler for ever.

I cannot think it a misfortune what Mr Steele affirms, that *treasonable books lately dispersed among us striking*
apparent.

apparently at the Hanover succession, have passed almost without observation from the generality of the people; because it seems a certain sign, that the generality of the people are well disposed to that illustrious family: but I look upon it as a great evil, to see seditious books dispersed among us, apparently striking at the Queen and her administration, at the constitution of church and state, and at all religion; yet passing without observation from the generality of those in power: but whether this remissness may be imputed to Whitehall, or Westminster-hall, is other mens business to inquire. Mr Steele knows in his conscience, that the queries concerning the pretender issued from one of his own party. And as for the poor nonjuring clergyman, who was trusted with committing to the press a late book on the subject of hereditary right, by a strain of the *summum jus* he is now, as I am told, with half a score children, starving and rotting among thieves and pick-pockets in the common room of a stinking jail*. I have never seen either the book or the publisher; however, I would fain ask one single person† in the world a question; why he hath so often drank the abdicated King's health upon his knees? — But the transition is natural and frequent, and I shall not trouble him for an answer.

It is the hardest case in the world, that Mr Steele should take up the artificial reports of his own faction, and then put them off upon the world as *additional fears of a Popish successor*. I can assure him, that no good subject of the QUEEN is under the least concern, whether the pretender be converted or no, farther than their wishes that all men would embrace the true religion. But reporting backwards and forwards upon this point, helps to keep up the noise, and is a topic for Mr Steele to enlarge himself upon, by shewing how little we can depend on such conversions, by collecting a list of *Popish cruelties*, and repeating after himself and the Bishop of Sarum

* Upon his conviction he was committed to the Marshalsea, and at his sentence, to the Queen's bench for three years. *Hawkes.*

† Parker, afterward Lord Chancellor.

rum the dismal effects likely to follow upon the return of that superstition among us.

But as this writer is reported by those who know him to be what the French call *journalier*, his fear and courage operating according to the weather in our uncertain climate; I am apt to believe the two last pages of his Crisis were written on a *sun-shine day*. This I guess from the general tenor of them, and particularly from an unwary assertion, which, if he believes as firmly as I do, will at once overthrow all his foreign and domestic fears of a *Popish successor*. *As divided a people as we are, those who stand for the house of Hanover are INFINITELY superior in number, wealth, courage, and all arts military and civil, to those in the contrary interest; besides which we have the laws, I say, the laws, on our side. The laws, I say, the laws.* This elegant repetition is, I think, a little out of place; for the stress might better have been laid upon so great a majority of the nation; without which I doubt the laws would be of little weight, although they be very good additional securities. And if what he here asserts be true, as it certainly is, although he assert it, (for I allow even the majority of his own party to be against the pretender,) there can be no danger of a *Popish successor*, except from the unreasonable jealousies of the *best* among that party, and from the malice, the avarice, or ambition of the *worst*; without which Britain would be able to defend her succession against all her enemies both at home and abroad. Most of the dangers from abroad, which he enumerates as the consequences of this very bad peace made by the QUEEN, and approved by parliament, must have subsisted under any peace at all; unless, among other projects equally feasible, we could have stipulated to cut the throats of every *Popish* relation to the royal family.

Well, by this author's own confession a number infinitely superior, and the best circumstantiated imaginable, are for the *succession* in the house of Hanover. This *succession* is established, confirmed, and secured by several laws; her Majesty's repeated declarations, and the oaths of all her subjects, engage both her and them to preserve what those laws have settled. This is a security indeed, a *security* adequate at least to the importance of the thing;

and yet, according to the Whig scheme, as delivered to us by Mr Steele and his coadjutors, is altogether insufficient; and the succession will be defeated, the pretender brought in, and *Popery* established among us, without the farther assistance of this writer and his faction.

And what securities have our adversaries substituted in the place of these? A club of politicians, where Jenny Man presides; a *Crisis* written by Mr Steele; a confederacy of knavish stockjobbers to ruin credit; a report of the QUEEN'S death; an *effigies* of the pretender run twice through the body by a valiant Peer; a speech by the author of the *Crisis*; and, to sum up all, an unlimited freedom of reviling her Majesty and those she employs.

I have now finished the most disgusting task that ever I undertook. I could with more ease have written *three* dull pamphlets, than remarked upon the falsehoods and absurdities of *one*. But I was quite confounded last Wednesday, when the printer came with another pamphlet in his hand, written by the same author, and intitled, *The Englishman, being the close of the paper so called, &c.* He desired I would read it over, and consider it in a paper by itself; which last I absolutely refused. Upon perusal I found it chiefly an invective against Toby, the ministry, the Examiner, the clergy, the QUEEN, and the Post-boy; yet at the same time with great justice exclaiming against those who presumed to offer the least word against the heads of that faction whom her Majesty discarded. The author likewise proposeth an *equal division of favour and employments* between the *Whigs* and *Tories*; for if the former *can have no part or portion in David**, they desire no longer to be his subjects. He insists, that her Majesty hath exactly followed Monsieur Tughe's memorial † against demolishing of Dunkirk. He reflects with great satisfaction on the good already done to his country

* What portion have we in David?

† "Tughe was deputed by the magistrates of Dunkirk to intercede with the Queen, that she would recall part of her sentence concerning Dunkirk, by causing her thunderbolts to fall only on the martial works, and to spare the moles and dykes, which in their naked condition could be no more than objects of pity." Hawkes.

by the Crisis. *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, &c.* — He gives us hopes that he will leave off writing, and consult his own quiet and happiness; and concludes with a letter to a friend at court. I suppose by the style of old friend, and the like, it must be some body there of his own level; among whom his party have indeed more friends than I could wish. In this letter he asserts, that the present ministers were not educated in the church of England, but are new converts from Presbytery. Upon which I can only reflect, how blind the malice of that man must be, who invents a groundless lie in order to defame his superiors, which would be no disgrace if it had been a truth. And he concludes with making three demands, for the satisfaction of himself, and other malecontents. First, the demolition of the harbour of Dunkirk. Secondly, that Great Britain and France would heartily join against the exorbitant power of the Duke of Lorrain, and force the pretender from his asylum at Bar le Duc. Lastly, that his Electoral Highness of Hanover would be so grateful to signify to all the world the perfect good understanding he hath with the court of England, in as plain terms as her Majesty was pleased to declare she had with that house on her part.

As to the first of these demands, I will venture to undertake it shall be granted; but then Mr Steele and his brother malecontents must promise to believe the thing is done, after those employed have made their report; or else bring vouchers to disprove it. Upon the second, I cannot tell whether her Majesty will engage in a war against the Duke of Lorrain to force him to remove the pretender; but I believe if the parliament should think it necessary to address upon such an occasion, the QUEEN will move that prince to send him away. His last demand, offered under the title of a wish, is of so insolent and seditious a strain, that I care not to touch it. Here he directly chargeth her Majesty with delivering a falsehood to her parliament from the throne; and declares he will not believe her, until the Elector of Hanover himself shall vouch for the truth of what she hath so solemnly affirmed.

I agree with this writer, that it is an idle thing in his

antagonists to trouble themselves upon the *articles of his birth, education, or fortune*; for whoever writes at this rate of his sovereign, to whom he owes so many personal obligations, I should never inquire whether he be a **GENTLEMAN BORN**, but whether he be a **HUMAN CREATURE**.

The

THE CONDUCT of the ALLIES, and of the LATE
MINISTRY, in beginning and carrying
on the present war*.

Written in the year 1712.

*Partem tibi Gallia nostri
Eripuit: partem duris Hispania bellis:
Pars jacet Hesperia, totoque exercitus orbe.
Te vincente perit.*

*Odinus accipitrem quia semper vivit in armis.
Vidtrix provincia plorat.*

P R E F A C E.

I Cannot sufficiently admire the industry of a sort of men, wholly out of favour with the prince and people, and openly professing a separate interest from the bulk of the landed men, who yet are able to raise at this juncture so great a clamour against a peace, without offering one single reason, but what we find in their *ballads*. I lay it down for a maxim, That no reasonable

* To this tract and the Examiners, which make vol. 3. of the Irish edition, there is a preface in the name of the publisher, which Lord Orrery ascribes to Swift for no other apparent reason, than to accuse him of praising himself. But, besides the incorrectness of the style, which his Lordship supposes to be affected, there is an assertion, that these papers produced the change in the Queen's ministry, which even in his Lordship's opinion they were written to defend, and to which they appear by their date as well as tenor to be subsequent; an absurdity of which Swift, even in the character of a publisher, cannot be supposed to have been guilty. *Hawkes.*

man, whether *Whig* or *Tory*, (since it is necessary to use those foolish terms), can be of opinion for continuing the war upon the foot it now is, unless he be a gainer by it, or hopes it may occasion some new turn of affairs at home to the advantage of his party; or, lastly, unless he be very ignorant of the kingdom's condition, and by what means we have been reduced to it. Upon the two first cases, where interest is concerned, I have nothing to say: but as to the last, I think it highly necessary that the public should be freely and impartially told what circumstances they are in, after what manner they have been treated by those whom they trusted so many years with the disposal of their blood and treasure, and what the consequences of this management are like to be upon themselves and their posterity.

Those who, either by writing or discourse, have undertaken to defend the proceedings of the late ministry in the management of the war, and of the treaty at Gertruydenburg, have spent time in celebrating the conduct and valour of our leaders and their troops, in summing up the victories they have gained, and the towns they have taken. Then they tell us what high articles were insisted on by our ministers and those of the confederates, and what pains both were at in persuading France to accept them. But nothing of this can give the least satisfaction to the just complaints of the kingdom. As to the war, our grievances are, that a greater load has been laid on us than was either just or necessary, or than we have been able to bear; that the grossest impositions have been submitted to for the advancement of private wealth and power, or in order to forward the more dangerous designs of a *faction*, to both which a peace would have put an end; and that the part of the war which was chiefly our province, which would have been most beneficial to us, and destructive to the enemy, was wholly neglected. As to a peace, we complain of being deluded by a *mock-treaty*, in which those who negotiated took care to make such demands as they knew were impossible to be complied with; and therefore might securely press every article as if they were in earnest.

These are some of the points I design to treat of in the following discourse; with several others which I thought

thought it necessary at this time for the kingdom to be informed of. I think I am not mistaken in those facts I mention; at least not in any circumstance so material as to weaken the consequences I draw from them.

After ten years wars with perpetual success, to tell us it is yet impossible to have a good peace, is very surprising, and seems so different from what hath ever happened in the world before, that a man of any party may be allowed suspecting, that we have been either ill used, or have not made the most of our victories; and might therefore desire to know where the difficulty lay. Then it is natural to inquire into our present condition; how long we shall be able to go on at this rate; what the consequences may be upon the present and future ages; and whether a peace without that impracticable point, which some people do so much insist on, be really ruinous in itself, or equally so with the continuance of the war.

The

The CONDUCT of the ALLIES; &c. *

THE motives that may engage a wise prince or state in war, I take to be one or more of these: either to check the overgrown power of some ambitious neighbour; to recover what hath been unjustly taken from them; to revenge some injury they have received (which all political casuists allow); to assist some ally in a just quarrel; or, lastly, to defend themselves when they are invaded. In all these cases the writers upon politics admit a war to be justly undertaken. The last is what hath been usually called *pro aris et focis*; where no expence or endeavour can be too great, because all we have is at stake, and consequently our utmost force to be exerted; and the dispute is soon determined either in safety or utter destruction. But in the other four, I believe it will be found, that no monarch or commonwealth did ever engage beyond a certain degree; never proceeding so far as to exhaust the strength and substance of their country by anticipations and loans, which in a few years must put them in a worse condition, than any they could reasonably apprehend from those evils, for the pre-

* This was written preparatory to the peace which the ministers were then concerting, and which was afterwards perfected at Utrecht. It begins by reflections on war in general, and then particularly mentions the several civil wars in our kingdom.—Unhappy country! torn to pieces by her own sons: a wretched mother of vultures, for whom, like Tityus, she produces new intrails only to be devoured! *Orrery.*

This tract, and remarks on the barrier-treaty, contain the principal facts which the author of John Bull has thrown into allegory; and greatly illustrates that piece, of which indeed it is possible they were the ground-work. *Hawkes.*

A particular account of the occasion of this tract, and of the consequences it produced, may be seen in Dr Swift's life, prefixed to vol. 1.

venting

venting of which they first entered into the war; because this would be to run into real infallible ruin, only in hopes to remove what might perhaps but appear so by a probable speculation.

And as a war should be undertaken upon a just and prudent motive, so it is still more obvious, that a prince ought maturely to consider the condition he is in, when he enters on it; whether his coffers be full, his revenues clear of debts, his people numerous and rich, by a long peace and free trade, not over-pressed with many burdensome taxes; no violent faction ready to dispute his just prerogative, and thereby weaken his authority at home, and lessen his reputation abroad. For, if the contrary of all this happen to be his case, he will hardly be persuaded to disturb the world's quiet and his own, while there is any other way left of preserving the latter with honour and safety.

Supposing the war to have commenced upon a just motive; the next thing to be considered is, when a prince ought in prudence to receive the overtures of a peace; which I take to be, either when the enemy is ready to yield the point originally contended for; or when that point is found impossible to be ever obtained; or when contending any longer, although with probability of gaining that point at last, would put such a prince and his people in a worse condition than the present loss of it. All which considerations are of much greater force, where a war is managed by an alliance of many confederates, which, in the variety of interests among the several parties, is liable to so many unforeseen accidents.

In a confederate war, it ought to be considered, which party has the deepest share in the quarrel: for although each may have their particular reasons, yet one or two among them will probably be more concerned than the rest, and therefore ought to bear the greatest part of the burthen, in proportion to their strength. For example; two princes may be competitors for a kingdom, and it will be your interest to take the part of him who will probably allow you good conditions of trade, rather than of the other, who possibly may not. However, that prince whose cause you espouse, although never so vigorously, is the principal in that war, and you, properly speaking, are
but

but a second. Or a commonwealth may lie in danger to be over-run by a powerful neighbour, which in time may produce very bad consequences upon your trade and liberty; it is therefore necessary, as well as prudent, to lend them assistance, and help them to win a strong secure frontier; but as they must in course be the first and greatest sufferers, so in justice they ought to bear the greatest weight. If a house be on fire, it behoves all in the neighbourhood to run with buckets to quench it; but the owner is sure to be undone first; and it is not impossible, that those at next door may escape by a shower from heaven, or the stillness of the weather, or some other favourable accident.

But if an ally, who is not so immediately concerned in the good or ill fortune of the war, be so generous as to contribute more than the principal party, and even more in proportion to his abilities, he ought at least to have his share in what is conquered from the enemy; or, if his romantic disposition transport him so far as to expect little or nothing from this, he might however hope, that the principals would make it up in dignity and respect; and he would surely think it monstrous to find them intermeddling in his domestic affairs, prescribing what servants he should keep or dismiss, pressing him perpetually with the most unreasonable demands, and at every turn threatening to break the alliance if he will not comply.

From these reflections upon war in general, I descend to consider those wars wherein England hath been engaged since the conquest. In the civil wars of the Barons, as well as those between the houses of York and Lancaster, great destruction was made of the nobility and gentry; new families raised, and old ones extinguished; but the money spent on both sides was employed and circulated at home; no public debts contracted; and a very few years of peace quickly set all right again.

The like may be affirmed even of that unnatural rebellion against K. Charles I. The usurpers maintained great armies in constant pay, had almost continual war with Spain or Holland; but managing it by their fleets, they increased very much the riches of the kingdom, instead of exhausting them.

Our foreign wars were generally against Scotland or
France;

France; the first being in this island carried no money out of the kingdom, and were seldom of long continuance. During our first wars with France we possessed great dominions in that country, where we preserved some footing till the reign of Q. Mary; and although some of our later princes made very chargeable expeditions thither, a subsidy and two or three fifteenths cleared all the debt. Besides, our victories were then of some use as well as glory; for we were so prudent to fight, and so happy to conquer, only for ourselves.

The Dutch wars in the reign of K. Charles II. although begun and carried on under a very corrupt administration, and much to the dishonour of the crown, did indeed keep the King needy and poor by discontinuing or discontenting his parliament, when he most needed their assistance; but neither left any debt upon the nation, nor carried any money out of it.

At the *revolution* a general war broke out in Europe, wherein many princes joined in alliance against France to check the ambitious designs of that monarch; and here the Emperor, the Dutch, and England were principals. About this time the custom first began among us of borrowing millions upon funds of interest. It was pretended, that the war could not possibly last above one or two campaigns; and that the debts contracted might be easily paid in a few years by a gentle tax, without burthening the subject. But the true reason for embracing this expedient was the security of a new prince not firmly settled on the throne. People were tempted to lend by great premiums and large interest; and it concerned them nearly to preserve that government, which they had trusted with their money. The person * said to have been author of so detestable a project, lived to see some of its fatal consequences, whereof his grandchildren will not see an end. And this pernicious counsel closed very well with the posture of affairs at that time: for a set of upstarts, who had little or no part in the *revolution*, but valued themselves upon their noise and pretended zeal when the work was over, were got into credit at court, by the merit of becoming undertakers and projectors of

* Dr Burnet, Bishop of Sarum.

loans and funds : these finding, that the gentlemen of estates were not willing to come into their measures, fell upon those new schemes of raising money, in order to create a moneyed interest that might in time vie with the landed, and of which they hoped to be at the head.

The ground of the first war, for ten years after the *revolution*, as to the part we had in it, was to make France acknowledge the late King, and to recover Hudson's bay. But during that whole war the sea was almost entirely neglected, and the greatest part of *six* millions annually employed to enlarge the frontier of the Dutch. For the King was a general, but not an admiral ; and although King of England, was a native of Holland.

After ten years fighting to little purpose, after the loss of above an hundred thousand men, and a debt remaining of twenty millions, we at length hearkened to the terms of peace, which was concluded with great advantages to the empire and Holland, but none at all to us ; and clogged soon after with the famous treaty of *partition*, by which Naples, Sicily, and Lorrain were to be added to the French dominions ; or if that crown should think fit to set aside the treaty upon the Spaniards refusing to accept it, as they declared they would to the several parties at the very time of transacting it, then the French would have pretensions to the whole monarchy. And so it proved in the event ; for the late King of Spain, reckoning it an indignity to have his territories cantoned out into parcels by other princes during his own life, and without his consent, rather chose to bequeath the monarchy entire to a younger son of France ; and this prince was acknowledged for King of Spain both by us and Holland.

It must be granted, that the counsels of entering into this war were violently opposed by the *church-party*, who first advised the late King to acknowledge the Duke of Anjou ; and particularly it is affirmed, that a certain *great person* *, who was then in the church-interest, told the King in November 1701, that since his Majesty was determined to engage in a war so contrary to his private opinion, he could serve him no longer, and accordingly gave up his employment ; although he happened after-

* Earl of Godolphin.

wards to change his mind, when he was to be at the head of the treasury, and have the sole management of affairs at home, while those abroad were to be in the hands of one * whose advantage by all sorts of ties he was engaged to promote.

The declarations of war against France and Spain, made by us and Holland, are dated within a few days of each other. In that published by the States they say very truly, that *they are nearest and most exposed to the fire; that they are blocked up on all sides, and actually attacked by the Kings of France and Spain; that their declaration is the effect of an urging and pressing necessity:* with other expressions to the same purpose. They desire the assistance of all kings and princes, &c. The grounds of their quarrel with France are such as only affect themselves, or at least more immediately than any other prince or state; such as, *the French refusing to grant the tariff promised by the treaty of Ryswick; the loading the Dutch inhabitants settled in France with excessive duties, contrary to the said treaty; the violation of the partition-treaty by the French accepting the King of Spain's will, and threatening the States if they would not comply; the seizing the Spanish Netherlands by the French troops, and turning out the Dutch, who, by permission of the late King of Spain, were in garrison there, by which means that republic was deprived of her barrier, contrary to the treaty of partition, where it was particularly stipulated, that the Spanish Netherlands should be left to the Archduke. They alledged, that the French King governed Flanders as his own, although under the name of his grandson, and sent great numbers of troops thither to fright them†; that he had seized the city and citadel of Liege; had possessed himself of several places in the archbishopric of Cologne, and maintained troops in the county of Wolfenbittel, in order to block up the Dutch on all sides: and caused his resident to give in a memorial, wherein he threatened the States to act against them*

* Duke of Marlborough.

† This the author of John Bull calls *frighting the children out of their bread and butter.* Hawkes.

if they refused complying with the contents of that memorial.

The QUEEN's declaration of war is grounded upon the *grand alliance*, as this was upon the unjust usurpations and incroachments of the French King; whereof the instances produced are, *his keeping in possession a great part of the Spanish dominions, seizing Milan and the Spanish Low-Countries, making himself master of Cadiz, &c. ; and instead of giving satisfaction in these points, his putting an indignity and affront on her Majesty and kingdoms, by declaring the pretended Prince of Wales King of England, &c.* Which last was the only personal quarrel we had in the war; and even this was positively denied by France, that King being willing to acknowledge her Majesty.

I think it plainly appears by both declarations, that England ought no more to have been a principal in this war than Prussia, or any other power, who came afterwards into that alliance; Holland was first in danger, the French troops being at that time just at the gates of Nimeguen. But the complaints made in our declaration do all, except the last, as much or more concern almost every prince in Europe.

For, among the several parties who came first or last into this confederacy, there were few but who in proportion had more to get or to lose, to hope or to fear, from the good or ill success of this war than we. The Dutch took up arms to defend themselves from immediate ruin; and by a successful war, they proposed to have a larger extent of country, and a better frontier against France. The Emperor hoped to recover the monarchy of Spain, or some part of it, for his younger son, chiefly at the expence of us and Holland. The King of Portugal had received intelligence, that Philip designed to renew the old pretensions of Spain upon that kingdom, which is surrounded by the other on all sides, except towards the sea; and could therefore only be defended by *maritime powers*. This, with the advantageous terms offered by K. Charles, as well as by us, prevailed with that prince to enter into the alliance. The Duke of Savoy's temptations and fears were yet greater: the main charge of the war on that side was to be supplied by England, and the

the profit to redound to him. In case Milan should be conquered, it was stipulated, that his Highness should have the duchy of Montferrat belonging to the Duke of Mantua, the provinces of Alexandria, and Valencia, and Lomellino; with other lands between the Po and the Tanaro, together with Vigevenasco, or in lieu of it an equivalent out of the province of Novara, adjoining to his own state; besides, whatever else could be taken from France on that side by the confederate forces. Then he was in terrible apprehensions of being surrounded by France, who had so many troops in the Milanese, and might have easily swallowed up his whole duchy.

The rest of the allies came in purely for subsidies, whereof they sunk considerable sums into their own coffers, and refused to send their *contingent* to the Emperor, alledging their troops were already hired by England and Holland.

Some time after the Duke of Anjou's succeeding to the monarchy of Spain, in breach of the *partition-treaty*, the question here in England was, whether the peace should be continued, or a new war begun? Those who were for the former, alledged the debts and difficulties we laboured under; that both we and the Dutch had already acknowledged Philip for King of Spain; that the inclinations of the Spaniards to the house of Austria, and their aversion from that of Bourbon, were not so surely to be reckoned upon as some would pretend; that we thought it a piece of insolence as well as injustice in the French to offer putting a king upon us; and the Spaniards would conceive we had as little reason to force one upon them: that it was true, the nature and genius of those two people differed very much, and so would probably continue to do, as well under a king of French blood as one of Austrian; but that if we should engage in a war for dethroning the Duke of Anjou, we should certainly effect what, by the progress and operations of it, we endeavoured to prevent; I mean, an union of interest and affections between the two nations; for the Spaniards must of necessity call in French troops to their assistance; this would introduce French counsellors into K. Philip's court, and this by degrees would habituate and reconcile the two nations: that to assist K. Charles by English and Dutch forces would render him

odious to his new subjects, who have nothing in so great abomination as those whom they hold for *heretics*; that the French would by this means become masters of the treasures in the Spanish West Indies; that in the last war, when Spain, Cologne, and Bavaria were in our alliance, and by a modest computation brought sixty thousand men into the field against the common enemy; when Flanders, the seat of war, was on our side, and his Majesty, a prince of great valour and conduct, at the head of the whole confederate army; yet we had no reason to boast of our success; how then should we be able to oppose France with those powers against us, which would carry sixty thousand men from us to the enemy; and so make us upon the balance weaker by one hundred and twenty thousand men at the beginning of this war, than of that in 1688?

On the other side, those whose opinion, or some private motives, inclined them to give their advice for entering into a new war, alledged how dangerous it would be for England that Philip should be King of Spain; that we could have no security for our trade while that kingdom was subject to a prince of the Bourbon family, nor any hopes of preserving the balance of Europe, because the grandfather would in effect be king, while his grandson had but the title, and thereby have a better opportunity than ever of pursuing his design for universal monarchy. These and the like arguments prevailed; and so without offering at any other remedy, without taking time to consider the consequences, or to reflect on our own condition, we hastily engaged in a war, which hath cost us sixty millions; and after repeated as well as unexpected success in arms, hath put us and our posterity in a worse condition, not only than any of our allies, but even our conquered enemies themselves.

The part we have acted in the conduct of this whole war, with reference to our allies abroad, and to a prevailing faction at home, is what I shall now particularly examine; where, I presume, it will appear, by plain matters of fact, that no nation was ever so long or so scandalously abused by the folly, the temerity, the corruption, and the ambition of its domestic enemies; or treated with so much insolence, injustice, and ingratitude by its foreign friends.

This

This will be manifest by proving the three following points.

First, That, against all manner of prudence or common reason, we engaged in this war as principals, when we ought to have acted only as auxiliaries.

Secondly, That we spent all our vigour in pursuing that part of the war, which could least answer the end we proposed by beginning it; and made no efforts at all, where we could have most weakened the common enemy, and at the same time enriched ourselves.

Lastly, That we suffered each of our allies to break every article in those treaties and agreements by which they were bound, and to lay the burthen upon us.

Upon the first of these points, that we ought to have entered into this war only as auxiliaries, let any man reflect upon our condition at that time: just come out of the most tedious, expensive, and unsuccessful war that ever England had been engaged in*; sinking under heavy debts of a nature and degree never heard of by us or our ancestors; the bulk of the gentry and people heartily tired of the war, and glad of a peace, although it brought no other advantage but itself; no sudden prospect of lessening our taxes, which were grown as necessary to pay our debts as to raise armies; a sort of artificial wealth of funds and stocks in the hands of those who, for ten years before, had been plundering the public; many corruptions in every branch of our government that needed reformation. Under these difficulties, from which twenty years peace, and the wisest management, could hardly recover us, we declared war against France, fortified by the accession and alliance of those powers I mentioned before, and which, in the former war, had been parties in our confederacy. It is very obvious, what a change must be made in the balance by such weights taken out of our scale and put into theirs; since it was manifest by ten years experience, that France, without those additions of strength, was able to maintain itself against us. So that human probability ran with mighty odds on the other side; and in this case nothing under the most ex-

* I was then lean, being just come out of a fit of sickness.
John Bull, page 229. vol. 5.

trene necessity should force any state to engage in a war. We had already acknowledged Philip for King of Spain; neither does the QUEEN's declaration of war take notice of the Duke of Anjou's succession to that monarchy as a subject of quarrel, but the French King's governing it as if it were his own; his seizing Cadiz, Milan, and the Spanish Low Countries, with the indignity of proclaiming the pretender. In all which we charge that prince with nothing directly relating to us, excepting the last: and this, although indeed a great affront, might easily have been redressed without a war; for the French court declared they did not acknowledge the pretender, but only gave him the title of King, which was allowed to Augustus by his enemy of Sweden, who had driven him out of Poland, and forced him to acknowledge Stanislaus.

It is true indeed, the danger of the Dutch, by so ill a neighbourhood in Flanders, might affect us very much in the consequences of it; and the loss of Spain to the house of Austria, if it should be governed by French influence and French politics, might in time be very pernicious to our trade. It would therefore have been prudent, as well as generous and charitable, to help our neighbour; and so we might have done without injuring ourselves; for by an old treaty with Holland we were bound to assist that republic with ten thousand men, whenever they were attacked by the French; whose troops, upon the King of Spain's death, taking possession of Flanders in right of Philip, and securing the Dutch garrisons till they would acknowledge him, the States-General, by memorials from their envoy here, demanded only the ten thousand men we were obliged to give them by virtue of that treaty. And I make no doubt, but the Dutch would have exerted themselves so vigorously, as to be able with that assistance alone to defend their frontiers; or if they had been forced to a peace, the Spaniards, who abhor dismembering their monarchy, would never have suffered the French to possess themselves of Flanders. At that time they had none of those endearments to each other, which this war hath created: and whatever hatred and jealousy were natural between the two nations would then have appeared. So that there was no sort of necessity for us to proceed further, although we had been in a better condition.

tion. But our politicians at that time had other views; and a new war must be undertaken upon the advice of those, who, with their partisans and adherents, were to be the sole gainers by it. A grand alliance was therefore made between the Emperor, England, and the States-General; by which, if the injuries complained of from France were not remedied in two months, the parties concerned were obliged mutually to assist each other *with their whole strength*.

Thus we became parties in a war in conjunction with two allies, whose share in the quarrel was beyond all proportion greater than ours. However, I can see no reason from the words of the grand alliance, by which we were obliged to make those prodigious expences we have since been at. By what I have always heard and read, I take the *whole strength of a nation*, as understood in that treaty, to be the utmost that a prince can raise annually from his subjects. If he be forced to mortgage and borrow, whether at home or abroad, it is not, properly speaking, *his own strength*, or that of the nation, but the entire substance of particular persons, which not being able to raise out of the annual income of his kingdom, he takes upon security, and can only pay the interest. And by this method one part of the nation is pawned to the other, with hardly a possibility left of being ever redeemed.

Surely it would have been enough for us to have suspended the payment of our debts contracted in the former war; and to have continued our land and malt tax, with those others, which have since been mortgaged: these, with some additions, would have made up such a sum, as with prudent management might, I suppose, have maintained an hundred thousand men by sea and land; a reasonable *quota* in all conscience for that ally, who apprehended least danger, and expected least advantage. Nor can we imagine, that either of the confederates, when the war began, would have been so unreasonable as to refuse joining with us upon such a foot, and expect that we should every year go between three and four millions in debt (which hath been our case), because the French could hardly have contrived any offers of a peace so ruinous to us as such a war. Posterity will be at a
loss

loss to conceive, what kind of spirit could possess their ancestors, who after ten years suffering by the unexampled politics of a nation maintaining a war by annually pawning itself; and during a short peace, while they were looking back with horror on the heavy loads of debts they had contracted, universally condemning those pernicious counsels which had occasioned them; racking their inventions for some remedies or expedients to mend their shattered condition; I say, that these very people, without giving themselves time to breathe, should again enter into a more dangerous, chargeable, and expensive war for the same or perhaps a greater period of time, and without any apparent necessity. It is obvious in a private fortune, that whoever annually runs out, and continues the same expences, must every year mortgage a greater quantity of land than he did before; and as the debt doubles and trebles upon him, so doth his inability to pay it. By the same proportion we have suffered twice as much by this last ten years war, as we did by the former; and if it were possible to continue it five years longer at the same rate, it would be as great a burthen as the whole twenty. This computation being so easy and trivial as it is almost a shame to mention it, posterity will think, that those who first advised the war wanted either the sense or the honesty to consider it.

And as we have wasted our strength and vital substance in this profuse manner, so we have shamefully misapplied it to ends at least very different from those for which we undertook the war, and often to effect others which after a peace we may severely repent. This is the second article I proposed to examine.

We have now for ten years together turned the whole force and expence of the war where the enemy was best able to hold us at a bay; where we could propose no manner of advantage to ourselves; where it was highly impolitic to enlarge our conquest; utterly neglecting that part, which would have saved and gained us many millions, which the perpetual maxims of our government teach us to pursue; which would have soonest weakened the enemy, and must either have promoted a steady peace, or enabled us to continue the war.

Those who are fond of continuing the war, cry up our
constant

constant success at a most prodigious rate, and reckon it infinitely greater than in all human probability we had reason to hope. Ten glorious campaigns are passed, and now at last, like the sick man, we are just expiring with all sorts of good symptoms. Did the advisers of this war suppose it would continue ten years without expecting the success we have had; and yet at the same time determine, that France must be reduced, and Spain subdued, by employing our whole strength upon Flanders? Did they believe, the last war left us in a condition to furnish such vast supplies for so long a period without involving us and our posterity in inextricable debts? If after such miraculous *doings* we are not yet in a condition of bringing France to our terms, nor can tell when we shall be so, although we should proceed without any reverse of fortune; what could we look for in the ordinary course of things, but a Flanders war of at least twenty years longer? Do they indeed think, a town taken for the Dutch is a sufficient recompense to us for six millions of money; which is of so little consequence to determine the war, that the French may yet hold out a dozen years more, and afford a town every campaign at the same price?

I say not this by any means to detract from the army, or its leaders. Getting into the enemy's lines, passing rivers, and taking towns, may be actions attended with many glorious circumstances: but when all this brings no real solid advantage to us; when it hath no other end than to enlarge the territories of the Dutch, and increase the fame and wealth of our general; I conclude, however it comes about, that things are not as they should be; and that surely our forces and money might be better employed, both towards reducing our enemy, and working out some benefit to ourselves. But the case is still much harder; we are destroying many thousand lives, exhausting our substance, not for our own interest, which would be but common prudence; not for a thing indifferent, which would be sufficient folly; but perhaps to our own destruction, which is perfect madness. We may live to feel the effects of our own valour more sensibly, than all the consequences we imagine from the dominions of Spain in the Duke of Anjou. We have conquered a noble territory for the states, that will maintain

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tain sufficient troops to defend itself, and feed many hundred thousand inhabitants; where all encouragement will be given to introduce and improve manufactures, which was the only advantage they wanted; and which, added to their skill, industry, and parsimony, will enable them to undersell us in every market of the world.

Our supply of forty thousand men according to the first stipulation, added to the quotas of the Emperor and Holland, which they were obliged to furnish, would have made an army of near two hundred thousand, exclusive of garrisons, enough to withstand all the power that France could bring against it; and we might have employed the rest much better both for the common cause and our own advantage.

The war in Spain must be imputed to the credulity of our ministers, who suffered themselves to be persuaded by the Imperial court, that the Spaniards were so violently affected to the house of Austria, as upon the first appearance there with a few troops under the Archduke the whole kingdom would immediately revolt. This we tried; and found the Emperor to have deceived either us or himself. Yet there we drove on the war at a prodigious disadvantage with great expence; and, by a most corrupt management, the only general*, who, by a course of conduct and fortune almost miraculous, had nearly put us into possession of that kingdom, was left wholly unsupported, exposed to the envy of his rivals, disappointed by the caprices of a young unexperienced prince, under the guidance of a rapacious German ministry, and at last called home in discontent. By which our armies, both in Spain and Portugal, were made a sacrifice to avarice, ill conduct, or treachery.

In common prudence we should either have pushed that war with the utmost vigour in so fortunate a juncture, especially since the gaining that kingdom was the great point for which we pretended to continue the war; or at least when we had found, or made that design impracticable, we should not have gone on in so expensive a management of it; but have kept our troops on the defensive in Catalonia, and pursued some other way more

*The Earl of Peterborough.

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effectual for distressing the common enemy and advantaging ourselves.

And what a noble field of honour and profit had we before us wherein to employ the best of our strength, which, against all maxims of British policy, we suffered to lie wholly neglected! I have sometimes wondered how it came to pass, that the style of *maritime powers*, by which our allies in a sort of contemptuous manner usually couple us with the Dutch, did never put us in mind of the sea; and while some politicians were shewing us the way to Spain by Flanders, others to Savoy or Naples, that the West Indies should never come into their heads. With half the charge we have been at, we might have maintained our original *quota* of forty thousand men in Flanders, and at the same time by our fleets and naval forces have so distressed the Spaniards in the north and south seas of America, as to prevent any returns of money from thence except in our own bottoms. This is what best became us to do as a *maritime power*; this, with any common degree of success, would soon have compelled France to the necessities of a peace, and Spain to acknowledge the Archduke. But while we for ten years have been squandering away our money upon the continent, France hath been wisely ingrossing all the trade of Peru, going directly with their ships to Lima and other ports, and there receiving ingots of gold and silver for French goods of little value; which, besides the mighty advantage to their nation at present, may divert the channel of that trade for the future, so beneficial to us, who used to receive annually such vast sums at Cadiz for our goods sent thence to the Spanish West Indies. All this we tamely saw and suffered without the least attempt to hinder it; except what was performed by some private men at Bristol, who, inflamed by a true spirit of courage and industry, did, about three years ago, with a few vessels, fitted out at their own charge, make a most successful voyage into those parts; took one of the *Aquapulco* ships, very narrowly missed the other, and are lately returned laden with unenvied wealth, to shew us what might have been done with the like management by a public undertaking. At least we might easily have prevented those great returns of money to France and Spain,

although

although we could not have taken it ourselves. And if it be true, as the advocates for war would have it, that the French are now so impoverished, in what condition must they have been if that issue of wealth had been stopped?

But great events often turn upon very small circumstances. It was the kingdom's misfortune, that the sea was not the Duke of Marlborough's element; otherwise the whole force of the war would infallibly have been bestowed there; infinitely to the advantage of his country, which would then have gone hand in hand with his own. But it is very truly objected, that if we alone had made such an attempt as this, Holland would have been jealous; or if we had done it in conjunction with Holland, the house of Austria would have been discontented. This hath been the style of late years; which whoever introduced among us, they have taught our allies to speak after them. Otherwise it could hardly enter into any imagination, that while we are confederates in a war with those who are to have the whole profit, and who leave a double share of the burthen upon us, we dare not think of any design (although against the common enemy) where there is the least prospect of doing good to our own country, for fear of giving umbrage and offence to our allies, while we are ruining ourselves to conquer provinces and kingdoms for them. I therefore confess with shame, that this objection is true: for it is very well known, that while the design of Mr Hill's expedition* remained a secret, it was suspected in Holland and Germany to be intended against Peru; whereupon the Dutch made every where their public complaints; and the ministers at Vienna talked of it as an *insolence in the Queen to attempt such an undertaking*; which although it has failed, partly by the accidents of a storm, and partly by the stubbornness or treachery of some in that colony, for whose relief, and at whose intreaty, it was in some measure designed, is no objection at all to an enterprise so well concerted, and with such fair probability of success.

* The expedition in 1711, wherein Sir Hovenden Walker commanded the fleet, and Mr Hill the land-forces for the reduction of Quebec and Canada, and regaining the Newfoundland fishery, which the French had taken from us. *Hawkes.*

It was something singular that the States should express their uneasiness, when they thought we intended to make some attempt in the Spanish West Indies; because it is agreed between us, that whatever is conquered there by us or them shall belong to the conqueror; which is the only article that I can call to mind in all our treaties or stipulations with any view of interest to this kingdom; and for that very reason, I suppose, among others, hath been altogether neglected. Let those who think this too severe a reflection, examine the whole management of the present war by sea and land, with all our alliances, treaties, stipulations, and conventions, and consider whether the whole doth not look, as if some particular care and industry had been used to prevent any benefit or advantage that might possibly accrue to Britain?

This kind of treatment from our two principal allies hath taught the same dialect to all the rest; so that there is not a petty prince whom we half maintain by subsidies and pensions, who is not ready upon every occasion to threaten us, that he will recall his troops (although they must rob or starve at home) if we refuse to comply with him in any demand, however unreasonable.

Upon the third head I shall produce some instances to shew, how tamely we have suffered each of our allies to infringe every article in those treaties and stipulations, by which they were bound; and to lay the load upon us.

But before I enter upon this, which is a large subject, I shall take leave to offer a few remarks on certain articles in three of our treaties; which may let us perceive how much those ministers valued or understood the true interest, safety, or honour of their country.

We have made two alliances with Portugal, an offensive and a defensive; the first is to remain in force only during the present war; the second to be perpetual. In the offensive alliance, the Emperor, England, and Holland are parties with Portugal; in the defensive, only we and the States.

Upon the first article of the offensive alliance it is to be observed, that although the grand alliance, as I have already said, allows England and Holland to possess for their own whatever each of them shall conquer in the Spanish West Indies; yet there we are quite cut out by con-

senting, that the Archduke shall possess the dominions of Spain in as full a manner as their late K. Charles. And what is more remarkable, we broke this very article in favour of Portugal by subsequent stipulations; where we agree that K. Charles shall deliver up Estramadura, Vigo, and some other places to the Portuguese, as soon as we can conquer them from the enemy. They who are guilty of so much folly and contradiction, know best whether it proceeded from corruption or stupidity.

By two other articles (besides the honour of being convoys and guards in ordinary to the Portuguese ships and coasts), we are to guess the enemy's thoughts, and to take the King of Portugal's word whenever he hath a fancy that he shall be invaded. We are also to furnish him with a strength superior to what the enemy intends to invade any of his dominions with, let that be what it will. And until we know what the enemy's forces are, his Portuguese Majesty is sole judge what strength is superior, and what will be able to prevent an invasion; and may send our fleets whenever he pleases upon his errands to some of the farther parts of the world, or keep them attending upon his own coasts till he think fit to dismiss them. These fleets must likewise be subject in all things, not only to the King, but to his viceroys, admirals, and governors in any of his foreign dominions, when he is in an humour to apprehend an invasion; which, I believe, is an indignity that was never offered before, except to a conquered nation.

In the defensive alliance with that crown, which is to remain perpetual, and where only England and Holland are parties with them, the same care in almost the same words is taken for our fleet to attend their coasts and foreign dominions, and to be under the same obedience. We and the States are likewise to furnish them with twelve thousand men at our own charge, which we are constantly to recruit; and these are to be subject to the Portuguese generals.

In the offensive alliance we took no care of having the assistance of Portugal, whenever we should be invaded; but in this it seems we are wiser; for that King is obliged to make war on France or Spain, whenever we or Holland are invaded by either; but before this we are to supply

supply them with the same forces both by sea and land, as if he were invaded himself. And this must needs be a very prudent and safe course for a *maritime power* to take upon a sudden invasion; by which, instead of making use of our fleets and arms for our own defence, we must send them abroad for the defence of Portugal.

By the thirteenth article we are told what this assistance is which the Portuguese are to give us, and upon what conditions. They are to furnish ten men of war; and when England and Holland shall be invaded by France and Spain together, or by Spain alone, in either of these cases those ten Portuguese men of war are to serve only upon their own coasts; where no doubt they will be of mighty use to their allies, and terror to the enemy.

How the Dutch were drawn to have a part in either of these two alliances, is not very material to inquire, since they have been so wise as never to observe them; and, I suppose, never intended it; but resolved, as they have since done, to shift the load upon us.

Let any man read these two treaties from the beginning to the end, he will imagine that the King of Portugal and his ministers sat down and made them by themselves, and then sent them to their allies to sign; the whole spirit and tenor of them quite through running only upon this single point, what we and Holland are to do for Portugal, without any mention of an equivalent, except those ten ships, which, at the time when we have greatest need of their assistance, are obliged to attend upon their own coasts.

The barrier-treaty between Great Britain and Holland was concluded at the Hague, on the 29th of October in the year 1709. In this treaty neither her Majesty nor her kingdoms have any interest or concern, farther than what is mentioned in the second and the twentieth articles: by the former the States are to assist the QUEEN in defending the act of succession; and by the other, not to treat of a peace, till France hath acknowledged the QUEEN and the succession of Hanover, and promised to remove the pretender out of that king's dominions.

As to the first of these, it is certainly for the safety and interest of the States-General, that the Protestant succession should be preserved in England; because such a

Papish prince as we apprehended, would infallibly join with France in the ruin of that republic. And the Dutch are as much bound to support our succession, as they are tied to any part of a treaty or league offensive and defensive against a common enemy, without any separate benefit upon that consideration. Her Majesty is in the full peaceable possession of her kingdoms, and of the hearts of her people; among whom hardly one in five thousand are in the pretender's interest. And whether the assistance of the Dutch, to preserve a right so well established, be an equivalent to those many unreasonable exorbitant articles in the rest of the treaty, let the world judge. What an impression of our settlement must it give abroad, to see our ministers offering such conditions to the Dutch to prevail on them to be guarantees of our acts of parliament! neither perhaps is it right, in point of policy or good sense, that a foreign power should be called in to confirm our succession by way of guarantee, but only to acknowledge it; otherwise we put it out of the power of our own legislature to change our succession without the consent of that prince or state who is guarantee, how much soever the necessities of the kingdom may require it.

As to the other article, it is a natural consequence that must attend any treaty of peace we can make with France; being only the acknowledgment of her Majesty as QUEEN of her own dominions, and the right of succession by our own laws, which no foreign power hath any pretence to dispute.

However, in order to deserve these mighty advantages from the States, the rest of the treaty is wholly taken up in directing what we are to do for them.

By the grand alliance, which was the foundation of the present war, the Spanish Low Countries were to be recovered and delivered to the King of Spain; but by this treaty, that prince is to possess nothing in Flanders during the war; and after a peace the States are to have the military command of about twenty towns, with their dependences, and four hundred thousand crowns a-year from the King of Spain to maintain their garrisons. By which means they will have the command of all Flanders, from Newport on the sea to Namur on the Maese, and be entirely masters of the Pais de Waas, the richest part of those

those provinces. Further, they have liberty to garrison any place they shall think fit in the Spanish Low Countries, whenever there is an appearance of war; and consequently to put garrisons into Ostend, or where else they please, upon a rupture with England.

By this treaty likewise the Dutch will in effect be entire masters of all the Low Countries; may impose duties, restrictions in commerce, and prohibitions at their pleasure; and in that fertile country may set up all sorts of manufactures, particularly the woollen, by inviting the disobliged manufacturers in Ireland, and the French refugees, who are scattered all over Germany. And as this manufacture increaseth abroad, the clothing-people of England will be necessitated for want of employment to follow; and in few years, by help of the low interest of money in Holland, Flanders may recover that beneficial trade which we got from them. The landed men of England will then be forced to re-establish the staples of wool abroad; and the Dutch, instead of being only the carriers, will become the original possessors of those commodities, with which the greatest part of the trade of the world is now carried on. And as they increase their trade, it is obvious they will enlarge their strength at sea, and that ours must lessen in proportion.

All the ports in Flanders are to be subject to the like duties, that the Dutch shall lay upon the Scheld, which is to be closed on the side of the States: thus all other nations are in effect shut out from trading with Flanders. Yet in the very same article it is said, that *the States shall be favoured in all the Spanish dominions as much as Great Britain, or as the people most favoured*. We have conquered Flanders for them, and are in a worse condition as to our trade there, than before the war began. We have been the great support of the King of Spain, to whom the Dutch have hardly contributed anything at all; and yet *they are to be equally favoured with us in all his dominions*. Of all this the QUEEN is under the unreasonable obligation of being guarantee; and that they shall possess their barrier and their four hundred thousand crowns a-year, even before a peace.

It is to be observed, that this treaty was only signed

by one of our plenipotentiaries *; and I have been told, that the other † was heard to say, he would rather lose his right hand than set it to such a treaty. Had he spoke those words in due season, and loud enough to be heard on this side the water, considering the credit he had then at court, he might have saved much of his country's honour, and got as much to himself; therefore, if the report be true, I am inclined to think he only SAID it. I have been likewise told, that some very necessary circumstances were wanting in the entrance upon this treaty; but the ministers here rather chose to sacrifice the honour of the crown, and the safety of their country, than not ratify what one of their favourites had transacted.

Let me now consider in what manner our allies have observed those treaties they made with us, and the several stipulations and agreements pursuant to them.

By the grand alliance between the Empire, England, and Holland, we were to assist the other two *totis viribus*, by sea and land. By a convention subsequent to this treaty, the proportions which the several parties should contribute towards the war, were adjusted in the following manner: the Emperor was obliged to furnish ninety thousand men against France, either in Italy, or upon the Rhine; Holland to bring sixty thousand into the field in Flanders, exclusive of *garrisons*; and we forty thousand. In winter 1702, which was the next year, the Duke of Marlborough proposed raising ten thousand men more by way of augmentation, and to carry on the war with greater vigour; to which the parliament agreed, and the Dutch were to raise the same number. This was upon a *par*, directly contrary to the former stipulation, whereby our part was to be a third less than theirs; and therefore it was granted with a condition that Holland should break off all trade and commerce with France. But this condition was never executed; the Dutch only amusing us with a specious declaration, till our session of parliament was ended; and the following year it was taken off by concert between our general and the States, without any reason assigned, for the satisfaction of the

* Lord Townshend. See John Bull, p. 203. vol. 5.

† Duke of Marlborough.

kingdom. The next and some ensuing campaigns further additional forces were allowed by parliament for the war in Flanders; and in every new supply the Dutch gradually lessened their proportions, although the parliament address'd the QUEEN, that the States might be desir'd to observe them according to agreement; which had no other effect; than to teach them to elude it by making their troops nominal corps; as they did by keeping up the number of regiments, but sinking a fifth part of the men and money; so that now things are just inverted. And in all new levies we contributed a third more than the Dutch, who at first were oblig'd to the same proportion more than us.

Besides, the more towns we conquer for the States, the worse condition we are in towards reducing the common enemy, and consequently of putting an end to the war. For they make no scruple of employing the troops of their *quota* towards garrisoning every town, as fast as it is taken; directly contrary to the agreement between us, by which all garrisons are particularly excluded. This is at length arriv'd, by several steps, to such a height, that there are at present in the field not so many forces under the Duke of Marlborough's command in Flanders, as Britain alone maintains for that service, nor have been for some years past.

The Duke of Marlborough having entered the enemy's lines and taken Bouchain, form'd the design of keeping so great a number of troops, and particularly of cavalry, in Lisle, Tournay, Doway, and the country between, as should be able to harass all the neighbouring provinces of France during the winter, prevent the enemy from erecting their magazines, and, by consequence, from subsisting their forces next spring, and render it impossible for them to assemble their army another year, without going back behind the Soam to do it. In order to effect this project, it was necessary to be at an expence extraordinary of forage for the troops, for building stables, finding fire and candle for the soldiers, with other incident charges. The QUEEN readily agreed to furnish her share of the first article, that of the forage, which only belonged to her. But the States insisting, that her Majesty should likewise come into a proportion of the other

other articles, which in justice belonged totally to them; she agreed even to that, rather than a design of this importance should fail. And yet we know it hath failed, and that the Dutch refused their consent till the time was past for putting it in execution, even in the opinion of those who proposed it. Perhaps a certain article in the treaties of contributions submitted to by such of the French dominions as pay them to the States, was the principal cause of defeating this project; since one great advantage to have been gained by it was, as is before mentioned, to have hindered the enemy from erecting their magazines; and one article in those treaties of contributions is, that the product of those countries shall pass free and unmolested. So that the question was reduced to this short issue: Whether the Dutch should lose this paltry benefit, or the common cause an advantage of such mighty importance?

The sea being the element where we might most probably carry on the war with any advantage to ourselves, it was agreed, that we should bear five eighths of the charge in that service, and the Dutch the other three; and, by the grand alliance, whatever we or Holland should conquer in the Spanish West Indies, was to accrue to the conquerors. It might therefore have been hoped, that this *maritime ally* of ours would have made up in their fleet what they fell short in their army; but quite otherwise, they never once furnished their *quota* either of ships or men; or if some few of their fleet now and then appeared, it was no more than appearing; for they immediately separated to look to their merchants, and protect their trade. And we may remember very well, when these guarantees of our succession, after having not one ship for many months together in the Mediterranean, sent that part of their *quota* thither, and furnished nothing to us, at the same time that they alarmed us with the rumour of an invasion. And last year, when Sir James Wishart was dispatched into Holland to expostulate with the States, and to desire they would make good their agreements in so important a part of the service; he met with such a reception as ill became a republic to give, that were under so many great obligations to us; in short, such

such an one as those only deserved who are content to take it.

It hath likewise been no small inconvenience to us, that the Dutch are always slow in paying their subsidies; by which means the weight and pressure of the payment lies upon the QUEEN, as well as the blame if her Majesty be not very exact. Nor will even this always content our allies: for, in July 1711, the King of Spain was paid all his subsidies to the first of January next; nevertheless he hath since complained for want of money; and his *secretary* threatened, that if we would not further supply his Majesty, he could not answer for what might happen; although K. Charles had not at that time one third of the troops for which he was paid; and even those he had were neither paid nor clothed.

I cannot forbear mentioning here another passage concerning subsidies, to shew what opinion foreigners have of our easiness, and how much they reckon themselves masters of our money, whenever they think fit to call for it. The QUEEN was by agreement to pay two hundred thousand crowns a-year to the Prussian troops; the States one hundred thousand; and the Emperor only thirty thousand for recruiting; which his Imperial Majesty never paid. Prince Eugene happening to pass by Berlin, the ministers of that court applied to him for redress in this particular; and his Highness very frankly promised them, that, in consideration of this deficiency, Britain and the States should increase their subsidies to seventy thousand crowns more between them; and that the Emperor should be punctual for the time to come. This was done by that prince without any orders or power whatsoever. The Dutch very reasonably refused consenting to it; but the Prussian minister here making his applications at our court, prevailed on us to agree to our proportion, before we could hear what resolution would be taken in Holland. It is therefore to be hoped, that his Prussian Majesty, at the end of this war, will not have the same cause of complaint, which he had at the close of the last; that his military chest was emptier by twenty thousand crowns than at the time that war began.

The Emperor, as we have already said, was by stipulation to furnish ninety thousand men against the common enemy,

enemy, as having no fleets to maintain, and in right of his family being most concerned in the success of the war. However, this agreement hath been so ill observed, that from the beginning of the war to this day, neither of the two last emperors had ever twenty thousand men on their own account in the common cause, excepting once in Italy, when the *Imperial* court exerted itself in a point they have much more at heart, than that of gaining Spain or the Indies to their family. When they had succeeded in their attempts on the side of Italy, and observed our blind zeal for pushing on the war at all adventures, they soon found out the most effectual expedient to excuse themselves. They computed easily, that it would cost them less to make large presents to one single person than to pay an army, and to turn to as good account. They thought they could not put their affairs into better hands; and therefore wisely left us to fight their battles.

Besides, it appeared by several instances how little the Emperor regarded his allies, or the cause they were engaged in, when once he thought the *empire* itself was secure. It is known enough, that he might several times have made a peace with his discontented subjects in Hungary upon terms not at all unbecoming either his dignity or interest; but he rather chose to sacrifice the whole alliance to his private passions, by entirely subduing and enslaving a miserable people, who had but too much provocation to take up arms to free themselves from the oppressions under which they were groaning; yet this must serve as an excuse for breaking his agreement, and diverting so great a body of troops, which might have been employed against France.

Another instance of the Emperor's indifference, or rather dislike, to the common cause of the allies, is the business of Toulon. This design was indeed discovered here at home by a person, whom every body knows to be the creature of a certain *great man*, at least as much noted for his skill in gaming as in politics, upon the base mercenary end of getting money by wagers, which was then so common a practice, that I remember a gentleman in business, who having the curiosity to inquire how wagers went upon the exchange, found some people deep in the secret to have been concerned in that kind of traffic;

traffic; as appeared by premiums named for towns, which nobody but those behind the curtain could suspect. However, although this project had gotten wind by so scandalous a proceeding; yet Toulon might probably have been taken, if the Emperor had not thought fit in that very juncture to detach twelve or fifteen thousand men to seize Naples, as an enterprize that was more his private and immediate interest. But it was manifest, that his Imperial Majesty had no mind to see Toulon in possession of the allies; for even with these discouragements the attempt might yet have succeeded, if Pr. Eugene had not thought fit to oppose it; which cannot be imputed to his own judgment, but to some politic reasons of his court. The Duke of Savoy was for attacking the enemy as soon as our army arrived; but when the Marechal de Thesse's troops were all come up, to pretend to besiege the place, in the condition we were at that time, was a farce and a jest. Had Toulon fallen then into our hands,, the maritime power of France would, in a great measure, have been destroyed.

But a much greater instance than either of the foregoing, how little the Emperor regarded us or our quarrel, after all we had done to save his Imperial crown, and to assert the title of his brother to the monarchy of Spain, may be brought from the proceedings of that court not many months ago. It was judged, that a war carried on upon the side of Italy would cause a great diversion of the French forces, wound them in a very tender part, and facilitate the progress of our arms in Spain as well as Flanders. It was proposed to the Duke of Savoy to make this diversion; and not only a diversion during the summer, but the winter too, by taking quarters on this side of the hills. Only, in order to make him willing and able to perform this work, two points were to be settled: first, it was necessary to end the dispute between the *Imperial* court and his Royal Highness, which had no other foundation than the Emperor's refusing to make good some articles of that treaty, on the faith of which the Duke engaged in the present war, and for the execution whereof Britain and Holland became guarantees, at the request of the late Emperor Leopold. To remove this difficulty, the Earl of Peterborough was dispatched
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to Vienna, got over some part of those disputes to the satisfaction of the Duke of Savoy, and had put the rest in a fair way of being accommodated at the time the Emperor Joseph died. Upon which great event the Duke of Savoy took the resolution of putting himself at the head of the army, although the whole matter was not finished, since the common cause required his assistance; and that until a new Emperor were elected, it was impossible to make good the treaty to him. In order to enable him, the only thing he asked was, that he should be reinforced by the Imperial court with eight thousand men before the end of the campaign. Mr Whitworth was sent to Vienna to make this proposal; and it is credibly reported, that he was impowered, rather than fail, to offer forty thousand pounds for the march of those eight thousand men, if he found it was want of *ability, and not inclination*, that hindered the sending them. But he was so far from succeeding, that it was said the ministers of that court did not so much as give him an opportunity to tempt them with any particular sums; but cut off all his hopes at once, by alledging the impossibility of complying with the QUEEN's demands upon any consideration whatsoever. They could not plead their old excuse of the war in Hungary, which was then brought to an end. They had nothing to offer but some general speculative reasons, which it would expose them to repeat; and so after much delay, and many trifling pretences, they utterly refused so small and seasonable an assistance; to the ruin of a project that would have more terrified France, and caused a greater diversion of their forces, than a much more numerous army in any other part. Thus for want of eight thousand men, for whose winter-campaign the QUEEN was willing to give forty thousand pounds; and for want of executing the design I lately mentioned, of hindering the enemy from erecting magazines, towards which her Majesty was ready not only to bear her own proportion, but a share of that which the States were obliged to; our hopes of taking winter-quarters in the north and south parts of France are eluded, and the war left in that method which is like to continue it longest. Can there an example be given, in the whole course of this war, where we have treated the

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the pettiest prince with whom we had to deal in so contemptuous a manner? Did we ever once consider what we could afford, or what we were obliged to when our assistance was desired, even while we lay under immediate apprehensions of being invaded?

When Portugal came as a confederate into the grand alliance, it was stipulated, that the Empire, England, and Holland, should each maintain four thousand men of their own troops in that kingdom, and pay between them a million of patacoons to the King of Portugal for the support of twenty-eight thousand Portuguese; which number of forty thousand was to be the confederate army against Spain on the Portugal side. This treaty was ratified by all the three powers. But in a short time after the Emperor declared himself unable to comply with his part of the agreement, and so left the two thirds upon us; who very generously undertook that burthen, and at the same time two thirds of the subsidies for maintenance of the Portuguese troops. But neither is this the worst part of the story; for although the Dutch did indeed send their own *quota* of four thousand men to Portugal, (which however they would not agree to but upon condition that the other two thirds should be supplied by us); yet they never took care to recruit them: for in the year 1706, the Portuguese, British, and Dutch forces having marched with the Earl of Galway into Castile, and by the noble conduct of that general being forced to retire into Valencia, it was found necessary to raise a new army on the Portugal side; where the QUEEN hath, at several times, increased her establishment to ten thousand five hundred men; and the Dutch never replaced one single man, nor paid one penny of their subsidies to Portugal in six years.

The Spanish army on the side of Catalonia is, or ought to be, about fifty thousand men, exclusive of Portugal. And here the war hath been carried on almost entirely at our cost. For this whole army is paid by the QUEEN, excepting only seven battalions and fourteen squadrons of Dutch and Palatines; and even fifteen hundred of these are likewise in our pay; besides the sums given to King Charles for subsidies and the maintenance of his court. Neither are our troops at Gibraltar included within this number. And further, we alone have been at all the

charge of transporting the forces first sent from Genoa to Barcelona; and of all the *Imperial* recruits from time to time. And have likewise paid vast sums as levy-money for every individual man and horse so furnished to recruit; although the horses were scarce worth the price of transportation. But this hath been almost the constant misfortune of our fleet during the present war; instead of being employed on some enterprize for the good of the nation, or even for the protection of our trade, to be wholly taken up in transporting soldiers.

We have actually conquered all Bavaria, Ulm, Augs-burg, Landau, and a great part of Alsace, for the Emperor: and by the troops we have furnished, the armies we have paid, and the diversions we have given to the enemies forces, have chiefly contributed to the conquests of Milan, Mantua, and Mirandola, and to the recovery of the duchy of Modena. The last Emperor drained the wealth of those countries into his own coffers, without increasing his troops against France by such mighty acquisitions, or yielding to the most reasonable requests we have made.

Of the many towns we have taken for the Dutch, we have consented, by the barrier-treaty, that all those which were not in the possession of Spain, upon the death of the late Catholic King, shall be part of the States dominions; and that they shall have the military power in the most considerable of the rest; which is in effect to be the absolute sovereigns of the whole. And the Hollanders have already made such good use of their time, that in conjunction with our general the oppressions of Flanders are much greater than ever.

And this treatment, which we have received from our two principal allies, hath been pretty well copied by most other princes in the confederacy, with whom we have any dealings. For instance; seven Portuguese regiments, after the battle of Almanza, went off with the rest of that broken army to Catalonia; the King of Portugal said he was not able to pay them, while they were out of his country; the QUEEN consented therefore to do it herself, provided the King would raise as many more to supply their place. This he engaged to do, but never performed. Notwithstanding which, his subsidies were constantly paid him

him by my Lord Godolphin for almost four years, without any deduction upon account of those seven regiments; directly contrary to the seventh article of our offensive alliance with that crown, where it is agreed, that a deduction shall be made out of those subsidies, in proportion to the number of men wanting in that complement which the King is to maintain. But whatever might have been the reasons for this proceeding, it seems they are above the understanding of the present Lord Treasurer*; who not entering into those refinements of paying the *public* money upon *private* considerations, hath been so uncourtly as to stop it. This disappointment, I suppose, hath put the court of Lisbon upon other expedients, of raising the price of forage, so as to force us either to lessen our number of troops, or be at double expence in maintaining them; and this at a time, when their own product as well as the import of corn was never greater; and of demanding a duty upon the soldiers cloaths we carried over for those troops, which have been their sole defence against an inveterate enemy; and whose example might have infused courage, as well as taught them discipline, if their spirits had been capable of receiving either.

In order to augment our forces every year in the same proportion as those for whom we fight diminish theirs, we have been obliged to hire troops from several princes of the empire, whose ministers and residents here have perpetually importuned the court with unreasonable demands, under which our late ministers thought fit to be passive. For those demands were always backed with a threat to recall their soldiers; which was a thing not to be heard of, because it might *discontent the Dutch*. In the mean time those princes never sent their contingent to the Emperor, as by the laws of the empire they are obliged to do; but gave, for their excuse, that we had already hired all they could possibly spare.

But if all this be true; if, according to what I have affirmed, we began this war contrary to reason; if, as the other party themselves upon all occasions acknowledge, the success we have had was more than we could reasonably expect; if after all our success we have not made that use of it, which in reason we ought to have

* Earl of Oxford.

done; if we have made weak and foolish bargains with our allies; suffered them tamely to break every article, even in those bargains, to our disadvantage, and allowed them to treat us with insolence and contempt, at the very instant when we were gaining towns, provinces, and kingdoms for them, at the price of our ruin, and without any prospect of interest to ourselves; if we have consumed all our strength in attacking the enemy on the strongest side, where (as the old Duke of Schoenberg expressed it) *to engage with France was to take a bull by the horns*; and left wholly unattempted that part of the war, which could only enable us to continue or to end it; if all this, I say, be our case, it is a very obvious question to ask, by what motives, or what management we are thus become the *dupes* and *bubbles* of Europe? Sure it cannot be owing to the stupidity arising from the coldness of our climate; since those among our allies, who have given us most reason to complain, are as far removed from the sun as ourselves.

If in laying open the real causes of our present misery I am forced to speak with some freedom, I think it will require no apology. Reputation is the smallest sacrifice those can make us who have been the instruments of our ruin; because it is that for which, in all probability, they have the least value. So that in exposing the actions of such persons it cannot be said, properly speaking, to do them an injury. But as it will be some satisfaction to our people to know by whom they have been so long abused; so it may be of great use to us, and our posterity, not to trust the safety of their country in the hands of those who act by such principles, and from such motives.

I have already observed, that when the councils of this war were debated in the late King's time, a certain *great man* was then so averse from entering into it, that he rather chose to give up his employment, and tell the King he could serve him no longer. Upon that prince's death, although the grounds of our quarrel with France had received no manner of addition, yet this Lord thought fit to alter his sentiments; for the scene was quite changed; his Lordship, and the family with whom he was engaged by so complicated an alliance, were in the highest credit

credit possible with the QUEEN. The treasurer's staff was ready for his Lordship; the Duke* was to command the army, and the Duchess, by her employments, and the favour she was possessed of, to be always nearest her Majesty's person; by which the whole power at home and abroad would be devolved upon that family. This was a prospect so very inviting, that, to confess the truth, it could not be easily withstood by any, who have so keen an appetite for wealth or power. By an agreement subsequent to the grand alliance, we were to assist the Dutch with forty thousand men, all to be commanded by the Duke of Marlborough. So that whether this war was prudently begun, or not, it is plain that the true spring or motive of it was the aggrandizing a particular family; and in short a war of the *general* and the *ministry*; and not of the *prince* or *people*; since those very persons were against it when they knew the power, and consequently the profit, would be in other hands.

With these measures fell in all that set of people who are called the *moneyed men*; such as had raised vast sums by trading with stocks and funds, and lending upon great interest and premiums; whose perpetual harvest is war, and whose beneficial way of traffic must very much decline by a peace.

In that whole chain of incroachments made upon us by the Dutch, which I have above deduced; and under those several gross impositions from other princes, if any one should ask, why our general continued so easy to the last? I know no other way so probable, or indeed so charitable, to account for it, as by that unmeasurable love of wealth, which his best friends allow to be his predominant passion. However, I shall wave any thing that is personal upon this subject. I shall say nothing of those great presents made by several princes, which the soldiers used to call *winter-foraging*, and said it was better than that of the *summer*; of two and half *per cent.* subtracted out of all the subsidies we pay in those parts, which amounts to no inconsiderable sum; and, lastly, of the grand perquisites in a long successful war, which are so amicably adjusted between him and the States.

* Duke of Marlborough.

But when the war was thus begun, there soon fell in other incidents here at home, which made the continuance of it necessary for those who were the chief advisers. The *Whigs* were at that time out of all credit or consideration. The reigning favourites had always carried what was called the *Tory principles* at least as high as our constitution could bear; and most others in great employments were wholly in the church-interest. These last, among whom were several persons of the greatest merit, quality, and consequence, were not able to endure the many instances of pride, insolence, avarice, and ambition, which those favourites began so early to discover, nor to see them presuming to be sole dispensers of the royal favour. However, their opposition was to no purpose; they wrestled with too great a power, and were soon crushed under it. For those in possession finding they could never be quiet in their usurpations, while others had any credit, who were at least upon an equal foot of merit, began to make overtures to the discarded *Whigs*, who would be content with any terms of accommodation. Thus commenced this *solemn league and covenant*, which hath ever since been cultivated with so much application. The great traders in money were wholly devoted to the *Whigs*, who had first raised them. The army, the court, and the treasury, continued under the old *despotic* administration: the *Whigs* were received into employment, left to manage the parliament, cry down the landed interest, and worry the church. Mean time our allies, who were not ignorant, that all this artificial structure had no true foundation in the hearts of the people, resolved to make the best use of it as long as it should last. And the general's credit being raised to a great height at home by our success in Flanders, the Dutch began their gradual impositions; lessening their *quotas*, breaking their stipulations, garrisoning the towns we took for them, without supplying their troops; with many other infringements: all which we were forced to submit to, because the general was *made easy*; because the moneyed men at home were fond of the war; because the *Whigs* were not firmly settled; and because that exorbitant degree of power, which was built upon a supposed necessity of employing particular persons, would go
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off in a peace. It is needless to add, that the Emperor, and other princes, followed the example of the Dutch, and succeeded as well, for the same reasons.

I have here imputed the continuance of the war to the mutual indulgence between our general and allies, wherein they both so well found their accounts; to the fears of the *money-changers*, lest their *tables should be overthrown*; to the designs of the *Whigs*, who apprehended the loss of their credit and employments in a peace; and to those at home, who held their immoderate engrossments of power and favour by no other tenure, than their own presumption upon the necessity of affairs. The truth of this will appear indisputable, by considering with what unanimity and concert these several parties acted towards that great end.

When the vote passed in the house of Lords against any peace without Spain being restored to the Austrian family, the Earl of Wharton told the house, that it was indeed impossible and impracticable to recover Spain; but however there were *certain reasons* why such a vote should be made at that time; which reasons wanted no explanation: for the general and the ministry having refused to accept very advantageous offers of a peace, after the battle of Ramillies, were forced to take in a set of men with a previous bargain to screen them from the consequences of that miscarriage. And accordingly, upon the first succeeding opportunity that fell, which was the Prince of Denmark's death*, the chief leaders of the party were brought into several great employments.

Thus when the QUEEN was no longer able to bear the tyranny and insolence of those ungrateful servants, who, as they *waxed the fatter*, did but *kick the more*; our two great allies abroad, and our stockjobbers at home, took immediate alarm; applied the nearest way to the throne by memorials and messages jointly, directing her Majesty not to change her secretary or treasurer; who, for the true reasons that these officious intermeddlers demanded their continuance, ought never to have been admitted into the least degree of trust; since what they did was nothing less than betraying the interest of

* Prince George of Denmark, husband to Q. Anne.

their native country to those princes, who, in their turns, were to do what they could to support them in power at home.

Thus it plainly appears that there was a conspiracy on all sides to go on with those measures, which must perpetuate the war; and a conspiracy founded upon the interest and ambition of each party; which begat so firm an union, that instead of wondering why it lasted so long, I am astonished to think how it came to be broken. The prudence, courage, and firmness of her Majesty, in all the steps of that great change, would, if the particulars were truly related, make a very shining part in her story; nor is her judgment less to be admired, which directed her in the choice of perhaps the only persons who had skill, credit, and resolution enough to be her instruments in overthrowing so many difficulties.

Some would pretend to lessen the merit of this, by telling us, that the rudeness, the tyranny, the oppression, the ingratitude of the late favourites towards their mistress, were no longer to be borne. They produce instances to shew, how her Majesty was pursued through all her retreats, particularly at Windfor; where, after the enemy had possessed themselves of every inch of ground, they at last attacked and stormed the castle, forcing the QUEEN to fly to an adjoining cottage, pursuant to the advice of Solomon, who tells us, *It is better to live on the house-top, than with a scolding woman in a large house.* They would have it, that such continued ill usage was enough to inflame the meekest spirit. They blame the favourites in point of policy, and think it nothing extraordinary, that the QUEEN should be at an end of her patience, and resolve to discard them. But I am of another opinion, and think their proceedings were right. For nothing is so apt to break even the bravest spirits as a continual chain of oppressions; one injury is best defended by a second, and this by a third. By these steps the old masters of the palace in France became masters of the kingdom*; and by these steps a general during pleasure might have grown into a general for life, and a general for life into a king. So that I

* See the Tale of a Tub, p. 23. vol. 1.

still insist upon it as a wonder, how her Majesty, thus besieged on all sides, was able to extricate herself.

Having thus mentioned the real causes, although disguised under specious pretences, which have so long continued the war, I must beg leave to reason a little with those persons, who are against any peace but what they call a *good one*; and explain themselves, that no peace can be *good* without an entire restoration of Spain to the house of Austria. It is to be supposed, that what I am to say upon this part of the subject will have little influence on those, whose particular ends or designs of any sort lead them to wish the continuance of the war: I mean, the general and our allies abroad, the knot of late favourites at home, the body of such as traffic in stocks; and, lastly, that set of factious politicians, who were so violently bent at least upon *clipping* our constitution in church and state. Therefore I shall not apply myself to any of these, but to all others indifferently, whether *Whigs* or *Tories*, whose private interest is best answered by the welfare of their country. And if among these there be any who think we ought to fight on till King Charles be quietly settled in the monarchy of Spain, I believe there are several points which they have not thoroughly considered:

For, first, it is to be observed, that this resolution against any peace without Spain is a new incident, grafted upon the original quarrel by the intrigues of a faction among us, who prevailed to give it the sanction of a vote in both houses of parliament, to justify those whose interest lay in perpetuating the war. And as this proceeding was against the practice of all princes and states, whose intentions were fair and honourable; so is it contrary to common prudence as well as justice; I might add, that it was impious too, by presuming to control events which are only in the hands of God. Ours and the States complaint against France and Spain are deduced in each of our declarations of war, and our pretensions specified in the *eighth article* of the grand alliance; but there is not in any of these the least mention of demanding Spain for the house of Austria, or of refusing any peace without that condition. Having already made an extract from both
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declarations of war, I shall here give a translation of the eighth article in the grand alliance, which will put this matter out of dispute.

THE EIGHTH ARTICLE OF THE GRAND ALLIANCE.

WHEN the war is once undertaken, none of the parties shall have the liberty to enter upon a treaty of peace with the enemy, but jointly and in concert with the others: Nor is peace to be made without having first obtained a just and reasonable satisfaction for his Cæsarean Majesty, and for his Royal Majesty of Great Britain, and a particular security to the Lords the States-General of their dominions, provinces, titles, navigation, and commerce: and a sufficient provision, that the kingdoms of France and Spain be never united, or come under the government of the same person, or that the same man may never be king of both kingdoms; and particularly, that the French may never be in possession of the Spanish West Indies; and that they may not have the liberty of navigation for convenience of trade under any pretence whatsoever, neither directly or indirectly; except it is agreed, that the subjects of Great Britain and Holland may have full power to use and enjoy all the same privileges, rights, immunities, and liberties of commerce by land and sea in Spain, in the Mediterranean, and in all the places and countries which the late King of Spain, at the time of his death, was in possession of, as well in Europe, as elsewhere, as they did then use and enjoy, or which the subjects of both, or each nation, could use and enjoy, by virtue of any right, obtained before the death of the said King of Spain, either by treaties, conventions, custom, or any other way whatsoever.

Here we see the demands intended to be insisted on by the allies, upon any treaty of peace, are, a just and reasonable satisfaction for the Emperor and King of Great Britain, a security to the States-General for their dominions, &c. and a sufficient provision, that France and Spain be never united under the same man as King of both kingdoms. The rest relates to the liberty of trade
and

and commerce for us and the Dutch; but not a syllable of engaging to dispossess the Duke of Anjou.

But to know how this new language, of *no peace without Spain*, was first introduced, and at last prevailed among us, we must begin a great deal higher.

It was the partition-treaty, which begot the will in favour of the Duke of Anjou; for this naturally led the Spaniards to receive a prince supported by a great power, whose interest as well as affection engaged them to preserve that monarchy entire, rather than to oppose him in favour of another family, who must expect assistance from a number of confederates, whose principal members had already disposed of what did not belong to them, and by a previous treaty parcelled out the monarchy of Spain.

Thus the Duke of Anjou got into the full possession of all the kingdoms and states belonging to that monarchy, as well in the old world as the new. And whatever the house of Austria pretended from their memorials to us and the States, it was at that time but too apparent, that the inclinations of the Spaniards were on the Duke's side.

However, a war was resolved; and in order to carry it on with great vigour a grand alliance formed, wherein the ends proposed to be obtained are plainly and distinctly laid down, as I have already quoted them. It pleased God, in the course of this war, to bless the arms of the allies with remarkable successes; by which we were soon put into a condition of demanding and expecting such terms of peace, as we proposed to ourselves when we began the war. But instead of this, our victories only served to lead us on to further visionary prospects; advantage was taken of the sanguine temper, which so many successes had wrought the nation up to; new romantic views were proposed, and the old, reasonable, sober design was forgot.

This was the artifice of those here, who were sure to grow richer, as the public became poorer; and who, after the resolutions which the two houses were prevailed upon to make, might have carried on the war with safety to themselves, till malt and land were mortgaged, till a general excise was established, and the *dixieme denier* raised by *collectors in red coats*. And this was just the circumstance which it suited their interests to be in.

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The house of Austria approved this scheme with reason; since whatever would be obtained by the blood and treasure of others, was to accrue to that family, while they only lent their name to the cause.

The Dutch might perhaps have grown resty under their burthen; but care was likewise taken of that by a *barrier-treaty* made with the States, which deserveth such epithets as I care not to bestow; but may perhaps consider it at a proper occasion in a *Discourse* by itself*.

By this treaty the condition of the war with respect to the Dutch was wisely altered; they fought no longer for security, but for grandeur; and we, instead of labouring to make them *safe*, must beggar ourselves to make them *formidable*.

Will any one contend, that if at the treaty of Gertruydenburg we could have been satisfied with such terms of a peace, as we proposed to ourselves by the grand alliance, the French would not have allowed them? It is plain they offered many more, and much greater, than ever we thought to insist on when the war began; and they had reason to grant, as well as we to demand them; since conditions of peace do certainly turn upon events of war. But surely there is some measure to be observed in this; those who have defended the proceedings of our negotiators at the treaty of Gertruydenburg, dwell very much upon their zeal and patience in endeavouring to work the French up to their demands; but say nothing to justify those demands, or the probability that France would ever accept them. Some of the articles in that treaty were so very extravagant, that in all human probability we could not have obtained them by a successful war of forty years. One of them was inconsistent with common reason; wherein the confederates reserved to themselves full liberty of demanding what further conditions they should think fit; and in the meantime France was to deliver up several of their strongest towns in a month. These articles were very gravely signed by our plenipotentiaries, and those of Holland; but not by the French, although it ought to have been done interchangeably; nay, they were brought over by the secretary of the embassy; and

* Which discourse follows next in this volume.

the ministers here prevailed on the QUEEN to execute a ratification of articles, which only one part had signed. This was an absurdity in form, as well as in reason; because the usual form of a ratification is with a preamble, shewing, *that whereas our ministers, and those of the allies, and of the enemy, have signed, &c. We ratify, &c.* The person* who brought over the articles said in all companies, (and perhaps believed), that it was a pity we had not demanded more; for the French were in a disposition to refuse us nothing we would ask. One of our plenipotentiaries affected to have the same concern and particularly that we had not obtained some further security for the empire on the Upper Rhine.

What could be the design of all this grimace but to amuse the people, and to raise stocks for their friends in the secret to sell to advantage? I have too great a respect for the abilities of those who acted in this negotiation, to believe they hoped for any other issue from it, than that we found by the event. Give me leave to suppose, the continuance of the war was the thing at heart among those in power, both abroad and at home; and then I can easily shew the consistency of their proceedings, otherwise they are wholly unaccountable and absurd. Did those who insisted on such wild demands, ever sincerely intend a peace? Did they really think, that going on with the war was more eligible for their country, than the least abatement of those conditions? Was the smallest of them worth six millions a-year, and an hundred thousand mens lives? Was there no way to provide for the safety of Britain, or the security of its trade, but by the French King's turning his arms to beat his own grandson out of Spain? If these able statesmen were so truly concerned for our trade, which they made the pretence of the war's beginning, as well as continuance; why did they so neglect it in those very preliminaries, where the enemy made so many concessions, and where all that related to the advantage of Holland, or the other confederates, was expressly settled? But whatever concerned us was to be left to a general treaty; no *tariff* agreed on with France or the Low Countries, only the

* Horatio Walpole, Secretary to that embassy.

Scheld was to remain shut, which must have ruined our commerce with Antwerp. Our trade with Spain was referred the same way; but this they will pretend to be of no consequence, because that kingdom was to be under the house of Austria, and we have already made a treaty with K. Charles. I have indeed heard of a treaty made by Mr Stanhope with that prince, for settling our commerce with Spain: but whatever it were, there was another between us and Holland, which went hand in hand with it, I mean that of *barrier*, wherein a clause was inserted, by which all advantages proposed for Britain are to be in common with Holland.

Another point, which I doubt those have not considered, who are against any peace without Spain, is, that the face of affairs in Christendom since the Emperor's death hath been very much changed. By this accident the views and interests of several princes and states in the alliance have taken a new turn, and I believe it will be found that ours ought to do so too. We have sufficiently blundered once already by changing our measures with regard to a peace, while our affairs continued in the same posture; and it will be too much in conscience to blunder again, by *not* changing the first, when the others are so much altered.

To have a prince of the Austrian family on the throne of Spain, is undoubtedly more desirable than one of the house of Bourbon; but to have the empire and Spanish monarchy united in the same person, is a dreadful consideration, and directly opposite to that wise principle on which the eighth article of the alliance is founded.

To this perhaps it will be objected, that the indolent character of the Austrian princes, the wretched œconomy of that government, the want of a naval force, the remote distance of their several territories from each other, would never suffer an Emperor, although at the same time King of Spain, to become formidable: on the contrary, that his dependence must continually be on Great Britain, and the advantages of trade by a peace, founded upon that condition, would soon make us amends for all the expences of the war.

In answer to this, let us consider the circumstances we must be in, before such a peace could be obtained, if it were

were at all practicable. We must become not only poor for the present, but reduced by further mortgages to a state of beggary for endless years to come. Compare such a weak condition as this with so great an accession of strength to Austria; and then determine how much an Emperor in such a state of affairs, would either fear or need Britain.

Consider that the comparison is not formed between a prince of the house of Austria, Emperor and King of Spain, and with a prince of the Bourbon family, King of France and Spain; but between a prince of the latter only King of Spain, and one of the former uniting both crowns in his own person.

What returns of gratitude can we expect when we are no longer wanted? Hath all that we have hitherto done for the Imperial family been taken as a favour, or only received as the due of the *augustissima casa*?

Will the house of Austria yield the least acre of land, the least article of strained, and even usurped prerogative, to resettle the minds of those princes in the alliance, who are alarmed at the consequences of this turn of affairs occasioned by the Emperor's death? We are assured it never will. Do we then imagine, that those princes who dread the overgrown power of the Austrian as much as that of the Bourbon family, will continue in our alliance upon a system contrary to that which they engaged with us upon? For instance: what can the Duke of Savoy expect in such a case? Will he have any choice left him but that of being a slave and a frontier to France; or a *vassal*, in the utmost extent of the word, to the Imperial court? Will he not therefore of the two evils chuse the least; by submitting to a master who hath no immediate claim upon him, and to whose family he is nearly allied; rather than to another who hath already revived several claims upon him, and threatens to revive more?

Nor are the Dutch more inclined than the rest of Europe, that the empire and Spain should be united in K. Charles, whatever they may now pretend. *On the contrary, it is known to several persons, that, upon the death of the late Emperor Joseph, the States resolved that, those two powers should not be joined in the same person; and this they determined as a fundamental maxim*

by which they intended to proceed. So that Spain was first given up by *them*; and since they maintain no troops in that kingdom, it should seem that they understand the Duke of Anjou to be lawful monarch.

Thirdly, Those who are against any peace without Spain, if they be such as no way find their private account by the war, may perhaps change their sentiments if they will reflect a little upon our present condition.

I had two reasons for not sooner publishing this discourse; the first was, because I would give way to others who might argue very well upon the same subject from general topics and reason, although they might be ignorant of several facts which I had the opportunity to know. The second was, because I found it would be necessary in the course of this argument, to say something of the state to which the war hath reduced us; at the same time I knew, that such a discovery ought to be made as late as possible, and at another juncture would not only be very indiscreet, but might perhaps be dangerous.

It is the folly of too many to mistake the echo of a London coffeehouse for the voice of the kingdom. The city-coffeehouses have been for some years filled with people whose fortunes depend upon the Bank, East-India, or some other stock. Every new fund to these is like a new mortgage to an usurer, whose compassion for a young heir is exactly the same with that of a stockjobber to the landed gentry. At the court-end of the town the like places of resort are frequented either by men out of place, and consequently enemies to the present ministry, or by officers of the army: no wonder then if the general cry in all such meetings be against any peace either *with* Spain or *without*; which, in other words, is no more than this, that discontented men desire another change of the ministry; that soldiers would be glad to keep their commissions; and that the creditors have money still, and would have the debtors borrow on at the old extorting rate while they have any security to give.

Now, to give the most ignorant reader some idea of our present circumstances, without troubling him or myself with computations in form; every body knows that our land and malt tax amount annually to about two millions and an half. All other branches of the revenue are mortgaged

mortgaged to pay interest for what we have already borrowed. The yearly charge of the war is usually about six millions; to make up which sum we are forced to take up on the credit of new funds about three millions and an half. This last year the computed charge of the war came to above a million more than all the funds the parliament could contrive were sufficient to pay interest for; and so we have been forced to divide a deficiency of twelve hundred thousand pounds among the several branches of our expence. This is a demonstration that if the war be to last another campaign, it will be impossible to find funds for supplying it without mortgaging the malt-tax, or taking some other method equally desperate.

If the peace be made this winter, we are then to consider what circumstances we shall be in towards paying a debt of about fifty millions, which is a sixth part of the purchase of the whole island if it were to be sold.

Towards clearing ourselves of this monstrous incumbrance, some of these annuities will expire, or pay off the principal in thirty, forty, or an hundred years; the bulk of the debt must be lessened gradually by the best management we can, out of what will remain of the land and malt taxes, after paying guards and garrisons, and maintaining and supplying our fleet in the time of peace. I have not skill enough to compute what will be left after these necessary charges towards annually clearing so vast a debt; but believe it must be very little: however, it is plain that both these taxes must be continued, as well for supporting the government as because we have no other means for paying off the principal. And so likewise must all the other funds remain for paying the interest. How long a time this must require, how steady an administration, and how undisturbed a state of affairs both at home and abroad, let others determine.

However, some people think all this very reasonable; and that since the struggle hath been for peace and safety, posterity, which is to partake the benefit, ought to share in the expence: as if, at the breaking out of this war, there had been such a conjuncture of affairs as never happened before, nor would ever happen again. It is wonderful that our ancestors, in all their wars, should never fall under such a necessity; that we meet no ex-

amples of it in Greece and Rome ; that no other nation in Europe ever knew any thing like it, except Spain about an hundred and twenty years ago, when they drew it upon themselves by their own folly, and have suffered for it ever since ; no doubt we shall teach posterity wisdom, but they will be apt to think the purchase too dear, and I wish they may stand to the bargain we have made in their names.

It is easy to entail debts on succeeding ages, and to hope they will be able and willing to pay them ; but how to ensure peace for any term of years, is difficult enough to apprehend. Will human nature ever cease to have the same passions, princes to entertain designs of interest or ambition, and occasions of quarrel to arise ? May not we ourselves, by the variety of events and incidents which happen in the world, be under a necessity of recovering towns out of the very hands of those for whom we are now ruining our country to take them ? Neither can it be said, that those *states*, with whom we may probably differ, will be in as bad a condition as ourselves ; for, by the circumstances of our situation, and the impositions of our allies, we are more exhausted than either they or the enemy ; and by the nature of our government, the corruption of our manners, and the opposition of factions, we shall be more slow in recovering.

It will, no doubt, be a mighty comfort to our grandchildren, when they see a few rags hung up in Westminster-hall, which cost an hundred millions, whereof they are paying the arrears, to boast as beggars do, that their grandfathers were rich and great.

I have often reflected on that mistaken notion of credit, so boasted of by the advocates of the late ministry : was not all that credit built upon funds raised by the landed men, whom they now so much hate and despise ? Is not the greatest part of those funds raised from the growth and product of land ? must not the whole debt be entirely paid, and our fleets and garrisons be maintained, by the land and malt tax after a peace ? If they call it credit to run ten millions in debt without parliamentary security, by which the public is defrauded of almost half ; I must think such credit to be dangerous, illegal, and perhaps treasonable. Neither hath any thing gone further

ther to ruin the nation than their boasted credit. For my own part, when I saw this false credit sink, upon the change of the ministry, I was singular enough to conceive it a good omen, It seemed as if the young extravagant heir had got a new steward, and was resolved to look in to his estate before things grew desperate, which made the usurers forbear feeding him with money, as they used to do.

Since the moneyed men are so fond of war, I should be glad they would furnish out one campaign at their own charge: it is not above six or seven millions; and I dare engage to make it out, that when they have done this, instead of contributing equal to the landed men, they will have their full principal and interest at six *per cent.* remaining of all the money they ever lent to the government.

Without this resource, or some other equally miraculous, it is impossible for us to continue the war upon the same foot. I have already observed that the last funds of interest fell short above a million, although the persons most conversant in ways and means employed their utmost invention; so that of necessity we must be still more defective next campaign. But perhaps our allies will make up this deficiency on our side by greater efforts on their own. Quite the contrary; both the Emperor and Holland failed this year in several articles; and signified to us some time ago, that they cannot keep up to the same proportions in the next. We have gained a noble barrier for the latter, and they have nothing more to demand or desire. The Emperor, however sanguine he may now affect to appear, will, I suppose, be satisfied with Naples, Sicily, Milan, and his other acquisitions, rather than engage in a long hopeless war, for the recovery of Spain, to which his allies the Dutch will neither give their assistance, nor consent. So that since we have done their business, since they have no further service for our arms, and we have no more money to give them; and lastly, since we neither desire any recompense, nor expect any thanks, we ought in pity to be dismissed, and have leave to shift for ourselves. They are ripe for a peace, to enjoy and cultivate what we have conquered for them; and so are we to recover, if possible, the effects of their hardships upon us. The first overtures
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from France are made to England upon safe and honourable terms; we who bore the burthen of the war, ought in reason to have the greatest share in making the peace. If we do not hearken to a peace, others certainly will, and get the advantage of us there, as they have done in the war. We know the Dutch have perpetually threatened us, that they would enter into separate measures of a peace; and by the strength of that argument, as well as by *other powerful motives*, prevailed on those who were then at the helm, to comply with them on any terms, rather than put an end to a war, which every year brought them such great accessions to their wealth and power. Whoever falls off, a peace will follow; and then we must be content with such conditions as our allies, out of their great concern for our safety and interest, will please to chuse. They have no farther occasion for fighting, they have gained their point, and they now tell us it is *our war*; so that in common justice it ought to be *our peace*.

All we can propose by the desperate steps of pawning our land or malt tax, or erecting a general excise, is only to raise a fund of interest for running us annually four millions further in debt, without any prospect of ending the war so well as we can do at present. And when we have sunk the only unengaged revenues we had left, our incumbrances must of necessity remain perpetual.

We have hitherto lived upon expedients which in time will certainly destroy any constitution, whether civil or natural; and there was no country in Christendom had less occasion for them than ours. We have dieted a healthy body into a consumption, by plying it with physic instead of food. Art will help us no longer, and if we cannot recover by letting the remains of nature work, we must inevitably die.

What arts have been used to possess the people with a strong delusion, that Britain must infallibly be ruined, without the recovery of Spain to the house of Austria? making the safety of a great and powerful kingdom as ours was then to depend upon an event, which even after a war of miraculous successes proves impracticable. As if princes and great ministers could find no way of settling the public tranquillity without changing the possessions of

kingdoms,

kingdoms, and forcing sovereigns upon a people against their inclinations. Is there no security for the island of Britain, unless a King of Spain be dethroned by the hands of his grandfather? Has the enemy no cautionary towns and sea-ports to give us for securing trade? Can he not deliver us possession of such places as would put him in a worse condition, whenever he should perfidiously renew the war? The present King of France has but few years to live by the course of nature, and doubtless would desire to end his days in peace. Grandfathers in private families are not observed to have great influence on their grandsons; and, I believe, they have much less among princes; however, when the authority of a parent is gone, is it likely that Philip will be directed by a brother against his own interest, and that of his subjects? Have not those two realms their separate maxims of policy, which must operate in times of peace? These at least are probabilities, and cheaper by six millions a-year than recovering Spain, or continuing the war, both which seem absolutely impossible.

But the common question is, if we must now surrender Spain, what have we been fighting for all this while? The answer is ready, We have been fighting for the ruin of the public interest, and the advancement of a private. We have been fighting to raise the wealth and grandeur of a particular family; to enrich usurers and stockjobbers, and to cultivate the pernicious designs of a faction by destroying the landed interest. The nation begins now to think these *blessings* are not worth fighting for any longer, and therefore desires a peace.

But the advocates on the other side cry out, that we might have had a better peace, than is now in agitation, above two years ago. Supposing this to be true, I do assert, that, by parity of reason, we must expect one just so much the worse about two years hence. If those in power could then have given us a better peace, more is their infamy and guilt, that they did it not. Why did they insist upon conditions, which they were certain would never be granted? We allow, it was in their power to have put a good end to the war, and left the nation in some hope of recovering itself. And this is what we charge them with as answerable to God, their country
and

and posterity, that the bleeding condition of their fellow-subjects was a feather in the balance with their private ends.

When we offer to lament the heavy debts and poverty of the nation, it is pleasant to hear some men answer all that can be said, by crying up the power of England, the courage of England, the inexhaustible riches of England. I have heard a man * very sanguine upon this subject, with a good employment for life, and a hundred thousand pounds in the funds, bidding us *take courage, and warranting, that all would go well.* This is the style of men at ease, who lay heavy burthens upon others, which they would not touch with one of their fingers. I have known some people such ill computers, as to imagine the many millions in stocks and annuities are so much real wealth in the nation; whereas every farthing of it is entirely lost to us, scattered in Holland, Germany, and Spain; and the landed men, who now pay the interest, must at last pay the principal.

Fourthly, Those who are against any peace without Spain, have, I doubt, been ill informed as to the low condition of France, and the mighty consequences of our successes. As to the first, it must be confessed, that, after the battle of Ramillies, the French were so discouraged with their frequent losses, and so impatient for a peace, that their King was resolved to comply upon any reasonable terms. But when his subjects were informed of our exorbitant demands, they grew jealous of his honour, and were unanimous to assist him in continuing the war at any hazard, rather than submit. This fully restored his authority; and the supplies he hath received from the Spanish West Indies, which in all are computed, since the war, to amount to four hundred millions of livres, and all in *specie*, have enabled him to pay his troops. Besides, the money is spent in his own country; and he hath since waged war in the most thrifty manner by acting on the defensive; compounding with us every campaign for a town, which costs us fifty times more than it is worth, either as to the value, or the consequences. Then he is at no charge for a fleet, further than providing priva-

* The late Lord Halifax.

teers, wherewith his subjects carry on a piratical war at their own expence, and he shares in the profit; which hath been very considerable to France, and of infinite disadvantage to us, not only by the perpetual losses we have suffered, to an immense value, but by the general discouragement of trade, on which we so much depend. All this considered, with the circumstances of that government, where the prince is master of the lives and fortunes of so mighty a kingdom, shews that monarch not to be so sunk in his affairs as we have imagined, and have long flattered ourselves with the hopes of.

Those who are against *any peace without Spain*, seem likewise to have been mistaken in judging our victories, and other successes, to have been of greater consequence than they really were.

When our armies take a town in Flanders, the Dutch are immediately put into *possession*, and we at home make *bonfires*. I have sometimes pitied the deluded people to see them squandering away their fewel to so little purpose. For example: what is it to us that Bouchain is taken, about which the warlike politicians of the coffeehouse make such a clutter? What though the garrison surrendered prisoners of war, and in sight of the enemy? We are not now in a condition to be fed with points of honour. What advantage have we, but that of spending three or four millions more to get another town for the States, which may open them a new country for *contributions*, and increase the perquisites of the general?

In that war of ten years under the late King, when our commanders and soldiers were raw and unexperienced, in comparison of what they are at present, we lost battles and towns, as well as we gained them of late, since those gentlemen have better learned their trade; yet we bore up then, as the French do now: nor was there any thing decisive in their successes; they grew weary as well as we, and at last consented to a peace, under which we might have been happy enough, if it had not been followed by that wise *treaty of partition*, which revived the flame that hath lasted ever since. I see nothing else in the modern way of making war, but that the side which can hold out longest, will end it with most advantage. In such a close country as Flanders, where
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it is carried on by sieges, the army that acts offensively is at a much greater expence of men and money; and there is hardly a town taken, in the common forms, where the besiegers have not the worse of the bargain. I never yet knew a soldier, who would not affirm, that any town might be taken, if you were content to be at the charge. If you will count upon sacrificing so much blood and treasure, the rest is all a regular, established method, which cannot fail. When the King of France, in the times of his grandeur, sat down before a town, his generals and engineers would often fix the day when it should surrender: the enemy, sensible of all this, hath for some years past avoided a battle, where he hath so ill succeeded, and taken a surer way to consume us by letting our courage evaporate against stones and rubbish, and sacrificing a single town to a campaign, which he can so much better afford to lose, than we to take.

Lastly, Those who are so violently against *any peace* without Spain being restored to the house of Austria, have not, I believe, cast their eye upon a cloud gathering in the north, which we have helped to raise, and may quickly break in a storm upon our heads.

The northern war hath been on foot almost ever since our breach with France. The success of it is various; but one effect to be apprehended was always the same, that sooner or latter it would involve us in its consequences; and that whenever this happened, let our success be never so great against France, from that moment France would have the advantage.

By our guarantee of the treaty of Travendall we were obliged to hinder the King of Denmark from engaging in a war with Sweden. It was at that time understood by all parties, and so declared, even by the British ministers, that this engagement specially regarded Denmark's not assisting King Augustus. But however, if this had not been so, yet our obligation to Sweden stood in force by virtue of former treaties with that crown, which were all revived and confirmed by a subsequent one, concluded at the Hague by Sir Joseph Williamson, and Monsieur Lilienroot, about the latter end of the King's reign.

However, the war in the north proceeded; and our not assisting Sweden was at least as well excused by the war

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war which we were entangled in, as his not contributing his contingent to the empire, whereof he is a member, was excused by the pressures he lay under, having a confederacy to deal with.

In this war the King of Sweden was victorious; and what dangers were we not then exposed to? what fears were we not in? He marched into Saxony, and if he had really been in the French interest, might at once have put us under the greatest difficulties. But the torrent turned another way, and he contented himself with imposing on his enemy the treaty of Alt Rastadt; by which K. Augustus makes an absolute cession of the crown of Poland, renounces any title to it, acknowledges Stanislaus; and then both he and the King of Sweden join in desiring the guarantee of England and Holland. The QUEEN did not indeed give this guarantee in form; but as a step towards it, the title of *King* was given to Stanislaus by a letter from her Majesty, and the strongest assurances were given to the Swedish minister, in her Majesty's name, and in a committee of council, that the guarantee should speedily be granted, and that in the mean while it was the same thing as if the forms were passed.

In 1708 K. Augustus made the campaign in Flanders: what measures he might at that time take, or of what nature the arguments might be that he made use of, is not known: but immediately after he breaks through all he had done, marches into Poland, and reassumes the crown.

After this we apprehended, that the peace of the empire might be endangered; and therefore entered into an act of guarantee for the neutrality of it. The King of Sweden refused upon several accounts to submit to the terms of this treaty; particularly because we went out of the empire to cover Poland and Jutland, but did not go out of it to cover the territories of Sweden.

Let us therefore consider what is our case at present. If the King of Sweden return and get the better, he will think himself under no obligation of having any regard to the interests of the allies; but will naturally pursue,

according to his own expression, *his enemy where-ever he finds him*. In this case the *corps* of the neutrality is obliged to oppose him; and so we are engaged in a second war, before the first be ended.

If the northern confederates succeed against Sweden, how shall we be able to preserve the balance of power in the north, so essential to our trade as well as in many other respects? What will become of that great support of the *Protestant interest* in Germany, which is the footing that the Swedes now have in the empire? Or who shall answer, that these princes, after they have settled the north to their minds, may not take a fancy to look southward, and make their peace with France according to their own schemes?

And lastly, if the King of Prussia, the Elector of Hanover, and other princes, whose dominions lie contiguous, be forced to draw from those armies which act against France, we must live in hourly expectation of having those troops recalled, which they now leave with us; and this recall may happen in the midst of a siege, or on the eve of a battle. Is it therefore our interest to toil on in a ruinous war for an impracticable end, till one of these cases shall happen, or to get under shelter before the storm?

There is no doubt but the present ministry (provided they could get over the obligations of honour and conscience) might find their advantage in advising the continuance of the war, as well as the last did, although not in the same degree after the kingdom hath been so much exhausted. They might prolong it, till the parliament desire a peace; and in the mean time leave them in full possession of power. Therefore it is plain, that their proceedings at present are meant to serve their country directly against their private interest; whatever clamour may be raised by those, who for the vilest ends would remove heaven and earth to oppose their measures. But they think it infinitely better to accept such terms as will secure our trade, find a sufficient barrier for the States, give *reasonable satisfaction* to the Emperor, and restore the tranquillity of Europe, although without adding Spain to the empire; rather than go on in a languishing way,

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way, upon the vain expectation of some improbable turn for the recovery of that monarchy out of the Bourbon family; and at last be forced to a worse peace, by some of the allies falling off upon our utter inability to continue the war.

N 2

Some

Some Remarks on the BARRIER-TREATY between her *Majesty* and the STATES-GENERAL.

To which are added, The said BARRIER-TREATY, with the two separate articles; Part of the counter-project; The sentiments of Prince Eugene and Count Sinzendorf upon the said treaty; and, A representation of the English merchants at Bruges.

Written in the year 1712.

P R E F A C E.

WHEN I published the discourse, called, *The Conduct of the Allies*, I had thoughts either of inserting or annexing the Barrier-treaty at length, with such observations as I conceived might be useful for public information: but that discourse taking up more room than I designed, after my utmost endeavours to abbreviate it, I contented myself only with making some few reflections upon that *famous treaty*, sufficient, as I thought, to answer the design of my book. I have since heard, that my readers in general seemed to wish I had been more particular, and have discovered an impatience to have that treaty made public, especially since it hath been laid before the *house of Commons*.

That I may give some light to the reader, who is not well versed in those affairs, he may please to know, that a project for a treaty of barrier with the States was transmitted hither from Holland; but being disapproved of by our court in several parts, a new project or scheme of a treaty was drawn up here, with many additions and alterations. This last was called the *counter-project*; and was

was the measure, whereby the Duke of Marlborough and my Lord Townshend were commanded and instructed to proceed in negotiating a *treaty of barrier* with the States.

I have added a translation of this *counter-project* in those articles where it differs from the *barrier-treaty*, that the reader, by comparing them together, may judge how punctually those negotiators observed their instructions. I have likewise subjoined the sentiments of Prince Eugene of Savoy, and the Count de Sinzendorf, relating to this treaty, written, I suppose, while it was negotiating. And lastly, I have added a copy of the representation of the British merchants at Bruges, signifying what inconveniencies they already felt and further apprehended from this *barrier-treaty*.

N 3

Some

Some Remarks on the BARRIER-TREATY, &c. *

IMAGINE a reasonable person in China reading the following treaty, and one who was ignorant of our affairs, or our geography: he would conceive their High Mightinesses the States-General to be some vast powerful commonwealth, like that of Rome; and HER MAJESTY to be a petty prince, like one of those to whom

* Dr Swift commenced the champion of Q. Anne's Tory ministry as early as the month of November 1710, under the title of *The Examiner* [in this volume] Beside which he wrote several other papers in defence of the Queen, the constitution, and the ministry; particularly *Some advice to the members of the October club* [at the end of this volume]; *The conduct of the allies* [above, p. 91.]; *Remarks on the barrier-treaty*; *The public spirit of the Whigs* [above, p. 51.]. (a treatise wherein we may observe how well the Doctor was acquainted with the several interests, and designs of all the princes in Europe); *The preface to the Bishop of Sarum's introduction* [vol. 7. p. 215.]; and, *Some free thoughts on the present state of affairs* [in vol. 4.]. These are a course of writings not to be considered in the light of occasional pamphlets, or little paltry journals, thrown into the world by some hackney-jade, in the defence of corruption, and to serve the iniquitous designs of a party. No; these writings are to be considered, and read over and over again, as lectures of true, unprejudiced, constitutional politics, calculated to expose the enemies of the public, and to maintain at once the honour of the crown, and the liberties of the people of England. I cannot but think, whoever is totally unacquainted with these political tracts, might be tempted to revise them carefully, were it only for the sake of extracting some points of history, which, to many thousands of the present age, are somewhat more than paradoxes. — Whoever pretends to write the history of Q. Anne's reign, without revising diligently the works of this, great author. will produce nothing better than some lame, partial;

whom that republic would sometimes send a diadem for a present, when they behaved themselves well, otherwise could depose at pleasure, and place whom they thought fit in his stead. Such a man would think, that the States had taken our prince and us into their *protection*; and in return honoured us so far, as to make use of our troops as some small assistance in their conquests, and the enlargement of their empire, or to prevent the incursions of barbarians upon some of their outlying provinces. But how must it sound in an European ear, that Great Britain, after maintaining a war for so many years, with so much glory and success, and such prodigious expence, after saving the Empire, Holland, and Portugal, and almost recovering Spain, should, towards the close of a war, enter into a treaty with seven Dutch provinces, to secure to them a dominion larger than their own, which she had conquered for them; to undertake for a great deal more without stipulating the least advantage for herself; and accept, as an equivalent, the mean condition of those States assisting to preserve her QUEEN on the throne, whom by God's assistance she is able to defend against all her Majesty's *enemies* and *allies* put together?

Such a wild bargain could never have been made for us, if the States had not found it their interest to use ve-

tial, insignificant Grubstreet performance, like the rest of those vile accounts which have already, in defiance of truth, been imposed upon the world. I am sure the present generation of men, that is, the present generation of *landed men*, who are in fact the only proprietors of the whole kingdom, feel it to their cost, that Swift's reasonings are just, and that all his accounts are true. *Swift*. — Mr Swift thinks the Dean's political tracts should have been ranged in his works in the order in which he has mentioned them; and that his several poems relative to those times, and which in truth greatly illustrate his political tracts, ought to be read in the following order, viz. *The virtues of Sid Hamet the magician's rod* [vol. 6. p. 77.]; *The fable of Midas* [ib. p. 240.]; *Atlas, or, The minister of state* [ib. p. 80.]; *Horace, epist. 7. book 1. imitated, and addressed to the Earl of Oxford* [ib. p. 51.]; *Horace, sat. 6. book 2. part of it imitated* [ib. p. 57.]; *The author on himself* [ib. p. 248.]; *The faggot* [ib. p. 246.]; *To the Earl of Oxford in the tower* [ib. p. 242.].

ry powerful motives with the chief advisers, (I say nothing of the person immediately employed); and if a party here at home had not been resolved, for ends and purposes very well known, to continue the war as long as they had any occasion for it.

The *counter-project* of this treaty made here at London was bad enough in all conscience: I have said something of it in the *preface*; her Majesty's ministers were instructed to proceed by it in their negotiation. There was one point in that project, which would have been of consequence to Britain, and one or two more where the advantages of the States were not so very exorbitant, and where some care was taken of the house of Austria. Is it possible, that *our good allies and friends* could not be brought to any terms with us, unless by striking out every particular that might do us any good; and adding still more to those whereby so much was already granted? For instance, the article about demolishing of Dunkirk surely might have remained; which was of some benefit to the States, as well as of mighty advantage to us; and which the French King hath lately yielded in one of his preliminaries, although clogged with the demand of an equivalent, which will owe its difficulty only to this treaty.

But let me now consider the treaty itself. Among the one and twenty articles, of which it consists, only two have any relation to us, importing that the Dutch are to be guarantees of our succession, and are not to enter into any treaty until the QUEEN is acknowledged by France. We know very well, that it is in consequence the interest of the States, as much as ours, that Britain should be governed by a *Protestant* prince. Besides, what is there more in this guarantee, than in all common leagues offensive and defensive, between two powers, where each is obliged to defend the other against any invader with all their strength? Such was the grand alliance between the Emperor, Britain, and Holland; which was, or ought to have been, as good a guarantee of our succession to all intents and purposes, as this in the *barrier-treaty*. And the mutual engagements in such alliances have been always reckoned sufficient without any separate benefit to either party.

It is, no doubt, for the interest of Britain, that the States should have a sufficient barrier against France; but their High Mightinesses, for some few years past, have put a different meaning upon the word *barrier*, from what it formerly used to bear when applied to them. When the late King was Prince of Orange, and commanded their armies against France, it was never once imagined, that any of the towns taken should belong to the Dutch; they were all immediately delivered up to their lawful monarch; and Flanders was only a *barrier* to Holland, as it was in the hands of Spain, rather than France. So in the grand alliance of 1701, the several powers promising to endeavour to recover Flanders for a barrier, was understood to be the recovering those provinces to the King of Spain; but in this treaty the style is wholly changed: here are about twenty towns and forts of great importance, with their chatellanies and dependencies (which dependencies are likewise to be enlarged as much as possible), and the whole revenues of them to be under the perpetual military government of the Dutch, by which that republic will be entirely masters of the richest part of all Flanders; and upon any appearance of war they may put their garrisons into any other place of the Low Countries; and farther, the King of Spain is to give them a revenue of four hundred thousand crowns a-year to enable them to maintain those garrisons.

Why should we wonder that the Dutch are inclined to perpetuate the war, when by an article in this treaty the King of Spain *is not to possess one single town in the Low Countries, until a peace be made.* The Duke of Anjou, at the beginning of this war, maintained six and thirty thousand men out of those Spanish provinces he then possessed: to which if we add the many towns since taken, which were not in the late King of Spain's possession at the time of his death, with all their territories and dependencies; it is visible what forces the States may be able to keep, even without any charge to their peculiar dominions.

The towns and chatellanies of this barrier always maintained their garrisons, when they were in the hands of France; and, as it is reported, returned a considerable sum of money into the King's coffers; yet the

the King of Spain is obliged by this treaty (as we have already observed) to add over and above a revenue of four hundred thousand crowns a-year. We know likewise, that a great part of the revenue of the Spanish Netherlands is already pawned to the States; so that after a peace nothing will be left to the sovereign, nor will the people be much eased of the taxes they at present labour under.

Thus the States, by virtue of this *barrier-treaty*, will in effect be absolute sovereigns of all Flanders, and of the whole revenues in the utmost extent.

And here I cannot without some contempt take notice of a sort of reasoning offered by several people; that the many towns we have taken for the Dutch are of no advantage, because the whole revenues of those towns are spent in maintaining them. For, first, the fact is manifestly false, particularly as to Lille and some others. Secondly, the States after a peace are to have four hundred thousand crowns a-year out of the remainder of Flanders, which is then to be left to Spain. And lastly, suppose all these acquired dominions will not bring a penny into their treasury, what can be of greater consequence, than to be able to maintain a mighty army out of their new conquests, which before they always did by taxing their natural subjects?

How shall we be able to answer it to K. Charles III. that while we pretend to endeavour restoring him to the entire monarchy of Spain, we join at the same time with the Dutch to deprive him of his natural right to the Low Countries?

But suppose by a Dutch barrier must now be understood only what is to be in possession of the States; yet, even under this acceptation of the word, nothing was originally meant except a *barrier* against France; whereas several towns demanded by the Dutch in this treaty can be of no use at all in such a *barrier*. And this is the sentiment even of Prince Eugene himself (the present oracle and idol of the party here), who says, *that Dendermond, Ostend, and the castle of Gand, do in no sort belong to the barrier; nor can be of other use, than to make the States-General masters of the Low Countries, and hinder their trade with England.* And further, *that*

that those who are acquainted with the country know very well, that to fortify Lier and Halle can give no security to the States as a barrier, but only raise a jealousy in the people, that those places are only fortified in order to block up Brussels, and the other great towns of Brabant.

In those towns of Flanders where the Dutch are to have garrisons, but the ecclesiastical and civil power to remain to the King of Spain after a peace, the States have power to send arms, ammunition, and victuals, without paying customs; under which pretence they will engross the whole trade of those towns, exclusive of all other nations.

This Prince Eugene likewise foresaw; and in his observations upon this treaty, here annexed, proposed a remedy for it.

And if the Dutch shall please to think, that the whole Spanish Netherlands are not a sufficient *barrier* for them, I know no remedy from the words of this treaty, but that we must still go on and conquer for them as long as they please. For the QUEEN is obliged, whenever a peace is treated, to procure for them *whatever shall be thought necessary* besides; and where their necessity will terminate, is not very easy to foresee.

Could any of her Majesty's subjects conceive, that in those very towns we have taken for the Dutch, and given into their possession as a *barrier*, either the States should demand, or our *ministers* allow, that the subjects of Britain should, in respect to their trade, be used worse than they were under the late King of Spain? yet this is the fact, as monstrous as it appears: all goods going to or coming from Newport or Ostend are to pay the same duties, as those that pass by the Scheld under the Dutch forts: and this in effect is to shut out all other nations from trading to Flanders. The English merchants at Bruges complain, that *after they have paid the King of Spain's duty for goods imported at Ostend, the same goods are made liable to further duties, when they are carried from thence into the towns of the Dutch new conquests; and desire only the same privileges of trade they had before the death of the late King of Spain, Charles II.* And in consequence of this treaty, the Dutch have al
ready

ready taken off eight *per cent.* from all goods they send to the Spanish Flanders, but left it still upon us.

But what is very surprising, in the very same article, where *our good friends and allies* are wholly shutting us out from trading in those towns we have conquered for them with so much blood and treasure, the QUEEN is obliged to procure, that the States shall be used as favourably in their trade over all the King of Spain's dominions, as her own subjects, or *as the people most favoured*. This I humbly conceive to be perfect boys play; *Cross I win, and pile you lose**; or, *What's yours is mine, and what's mine is my own*. Now, if it should happen, that in a treaty of peace some ports or towns should be yielded us for the security of our trade, in any part of the Spanish dominions at how great a distance soever, I suppose the Dutch would go on with their boys play, and *challenge half* by virtue of that article: or would they be content with the military government and the revenues, and reckon them among *what shall be thought necessary* for their barrier?

This prodigious article is introduced as subsequent to the treaty of Munster made about the year 1648, at a time when England was in the utmost confusion, and very much to our disadvantage. Those parts in that treaty, so unjust in themselves and so prejudicial to our trade, ought in reason to have been remitted rather than confirmed upon us for the time to come. But this is Dutch partnership; to share in all our *beneficial bargains*, and exclude us wholly from theirs, even from those which we have got for them.

In one part of *The conduct of the allies*, &c. among other remarks upon this treaty, I make it a question, whether it were right in point of policy or prudence to call in a foreign power to be a guarantee to our succession; because by that means we *put it out of the power of our legislature to alter the succession, how much soever the necessity of the kingdom may require it*†? To com-

* The two sides of our coin were once distinguished by *cross* and *pile*, as they are now by *heads* and *tails*. *Hawkes*.

† Page 114.

ply with the cautions of some people, I explained *my meaning in the following editions*. I was assured, that my Lord Chief Justice affirmed, that passage was treason. One of my answerers, I think, decides as favourably; and I am told, that paragraph was read very lately during a debate with a comment in very injurious terms, which perhaps might have been spared. That the legislature should have power to change the succession, whenever the necessities of the kingdom require, is so very useful towards preserving our religion and liberty, that I know not how to recant. The worst of this opinion is, that at first sight it appears to be *Whiggish*; but the distinction is thus: the *Whigs* are for changing the succession when they think fit, although the entire legislature do not consent; I think it ought never to be done but upon great necessity, and that with the sanction of the whole legislature. Do these gentlemen of revolution-principles think it impossible, that we should ever have occasion again to change our succession? And if such an accident should fall out, must we have no remedy until the seven provinces will give their consent? Suppose that this virulent party among us were as able, as some are willing to raise a rebellion for reinstating them in power, and would apply themselves to the Dutch as guaranties of our succession to assist them with all their force, under pretence that the QUEEN and ministry, a great majority of both houses, and the bulk of the people, were for bringing over France, Popery, and the pretender? Their High Mightinesses would, as I take it, be sole judges of the controversy, and probably decide it so well, that in some time we might have the happiness of becoming a province to Holland. I am humbly of opinion, that there are two qualities necessary to a reader before his judgment should be allowed; these are, common honesty, and common sense; and that no man could have misrepresented that paragraph in my discourse, unless he were utterly destitute of one or both.

The presumptive successor, and her immediate heirs, have so established a reputation in the world for their piety, wisdom, and humanity, that no necessity of this kind is like to appear in their days: but I must still insist, that it is a diminution to the independency of the imperial

rial crown of Great Britain, to call at every door for help to put our laws in execution. And we ought to consider, that if in ages to come such a prince should happen to be in succession to our throne, who should be entirely unable to govern; that very motive might incline our guarantees to support him, the more effectually to bring the rivals of their trade into confusion and disorder.

But to return: The QUEEN is here put under the unreasonable obligation of being guarantee of the whole barrier-treaty; of the Dutch having possession of the said barrier, and the revenues thereof before a peace; of the payment of four hundred thousand crowns by the King of Spain; that the States shall possess their barrier, even before K. Charles is in possession of the Spanish Netherlands; although by the fifth article of the grand alliance her Majesty is under no obligation to do any thing of this nature, except in a general treaty.

All kings, princes, and states are invited to enter into this treaty, and to be guarantees of its execution. This article, though very frequent in treaties, seems to look very oddly in that of the barrier. Popish princes are here invited among others to become guarantees of our Protestant succession; every petty prince in Germany must be intreated to preserve the QUEEN of Great Britain upon her throne. The King of Spain is invited particularly, and by name, to become guarantee of the execution of a treaty, by which his allies, who pretend to fight his battles and recover his dominions, strip him in effect of all his ten provinces; a clear reason why they never sent any forces to Spain, and why the obligation, not to enter into a treaty of peace with France until that entire monarchy was yielded as a preliminary, was struck out of the counter-project by the Dutch. They fought only in Flanders, because there they only fought for themselves. K. Charles must needs accept this invitation very kindly, and stand by with great satisfaction, while the Belgic lion divides the prey, and assigns it all to himself. I remember there was a parcel of soldiers, who robbed a farmer of his poultry, and then made him wait at table, while they devoured his victuals without giving him a morsel; and upon his expostulating, had only for answer, Why, Sirrah, are we not come here to protect you? And thus much

much for this generous invitation to all kings and princes to lend their assistance and become guaranties out of pure good nature for securing Flanders to the Dutch.

In the treaty of Ryfwic no care was taken to oblige the French King to acknowledge the right of succession in her present Majesty ; for want of which point being then settled, France refused to acknowledge her for QUEEN of Great Britain after the late King's death. This unaccountable neglect (if it were a neglect) is here called an omission, and care is taken to supply it in the next general treaty of peace*. I mention this occasionally, because I have some stubborn doubts within me, whether it were a wilful omission or no. Neither do I herein reflect in the least upon the memory of his late Majesty, whom I entirely acquit of any imputation upon this matter. But when I recollect the behaviour, the language, and the principles of some certain persons in those days, and compare them with that omission ; I am tempted to draw some conclusions, which a certain party would be more ready to call false and malicious, than to prove them so.

I must here take leave (because it will not otherwise fall in my way) to say a few words in return to a gentleman, I know not of what character or calling, who hath done me the honour to write three discourses against that treatise of *The conduct of the allies*, &c. and promises, for my comfort, to conclude all in a fourth. I pity answerers with all my heart, for the many disadvantages they lie under. My book did a world of mischief (as he calls it) before his first part could possibly come out ; and so went on through the kingdom, while his limped slowly after ; and if it arrived at all, it was too late ; for people's opinions were already fixed. His manner of answering me is thus : Of those facts which he pretends to examine, some he resolutely denies, others he endeavours to extenuate, and the rest he distorts with such unnatural turns, that I would engage by the same method to disprove any history either ancient or modern. Then the whole is interlarded with a thousand injurious epithets and appellations, which heavy writers are forced to make use of, as a supply for that want of spirit and genius they are not

born to : yet after all he allows a very great point, for which I contend, confessing in plain words, that the burthen of the war hath chiefly lain upon us ; and thinks it sufficient for the Dutch, that next to England they have borne the greatest share. And is not this the great grievance of which the whole kingdom complains ? I am inclined to think, that my intelligence was at least as good as his ; and some of it, I can assure him, came from persons of his own party, although perhaps not altogether so inflamed. Hitherto therefore the matter is pretty equal, and the world may believe him or me as they please. But I think the great point of controversy between us is, Whether the effects and consequences of things follow better from his premises or mine ? And there I will not be satisfied, unless he will allow the whole advantage to be on my side. Here is a flourishing kingdom brought to the brink of ruin by a most successful and glorious war of ten years, under an able, diligent, and loyal ministry, a most faithful, just, and generous commander, and in conjunction with the most hearty, reasonable, and sincere allies. This is the case, as that author represents it. I have heard a story, I think it was of the Duke of ***, who playing at hazard at the Groom-porter's in much company, held in a great many hands together, and drew a huge heap of gold ; but in the heat of play never observed a sharper who came once or twice under his arm, and swept a great deal of it into his hat ; the company thought it had been one of his servants. When the Duke's hand was out, they were talking how much he had won. Yes, said he, I held in very long ; yet methinks I have won but very little. They told him his servant had got the rest in his hat ; and then he found he was cheated.

It hath been my good fortune to see the most important facts that I have advanced justified by the public voice ; which, let this author do what he can, will incline the world to believe, that I may be right in the rest. And I solemnly declare, that I have not wilfully committed the least mistake. I stopt the second edition, and made all possible inquiries among those who I thought could best inform me, in order to correct any error I could hear of ; I did the same to the third and fourth editions, and then left the printer to his liberty. This I take for a more effectual

effectual answer to all cavils, than an hundred pages of controversy.

But what disgusts me from having any thing to do with this race of answer-jobbers, is, that they have no sort of conscience in their dealings. To give one instance in this gentleman's third part, which I have been lately looking into: When I talk of the most petty princes, he says that I mean crowned heads; when I say the soldiers of those petty princes are ready to rob or starve at home, he says I call kings and crowned heads robbers and highwaymen. This is what the *Whigs* call answering a book.

I cannot omit one particular concerning this author, who is so positive in asserting his own facts and contradicting mine; he affirms, that the business of Thoulon was discovered by the clerk of a certain great man, who was then secretary of state. It is neither wise nor for the credit of his party to put us in mind of that secretary, or of that clerk; however, so it happens, that nothing relating to the affair of Thoulon did ever pass through that secretary's office: which I here affirm with great phlegm, leaving the epithets of false, scandalous, villanous, and the rest, to the author and his fellows.

But to leave this author: Let us consider the consequence of our triumphs, upon which some set so great a value as to think, that nothing less than the crown can be a sufficient reward for the merit of the general. We have not enlarged our dominions by one foot of land: our trade, which made us considerable in the world, is either given up by treaties, or clogged with duties, which interrupt and daily lessen it. We see the whole nation groaning under excessive taxes of all sorts to raise three millions of money for payment of the interest of those debts we have contracted. Let us look upon the reverse of the medal; we shall see our neighbours, who in their utmost distress called for our assistance, become by this treaty, even in time of peace, masters of a more considerable country than their own; in a condition to strike terror into us, with fifty thousand *veterans* ready to invade us from that country, which we have conquered for them; and to commit insolent hostilities upon us in all other parts, as they have lately done in the East Indies.

THE BARRIER-TREATY BETWEEN HER MAJESTY AND THE STATES-GENERAL.

HER Majesty the QUEEN of Great Britain, and the Lords the States-General of the United Provinces, having considered how much it concerns the quiet and security of their kingdoms and states, and the public tranquillity, to maintain and to secure on one side, the succession to the crown of Great Britain in such manner as it is now established by the laws of the kingdom; and on the other side, that the States-General of the United Provinces should have a strong and sufficient barrier against France and others who would surprise or attack them: and her Majesty and the said States-General apprehending with just reason the troubles and the mischiefs which may happen in relation to this succession, if at any time there should be any person, or any power, who should call it in question; and that the countries and states of the said Lords the States-General were not furnished with such a barrier: For these said reasons her said Majesty the QUEEN of Great Britain, although in the vigour of her age, and enjoying perfect health (in which may God preserve her many years), out of an effect of her usual prudence and piety, has thought fit to enter with the Lords the States-General of the United Provinces into a particular alliance and confederacy; the principal end and only aim of which shall be the public quiet and tranquillity; and to prevent, by measures taken in time, all the events, which might one day excite new war. It is with this view, that her British Majesty has given her full power to agree upon some articles of a treaty, in addition to the treaties and alliances that she hath already with the Lords the States-General of the United Provinces, to her ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, Charles Viscount Townshend, Baron of Lyne-Regis, Privy Counsellor to her British Majesty, Captain of her said Majesty's Yeomen of the Guard, and her Lieutenant in the county of Norfolk; and the Lords the States-General of the United Provinces, the Sieurs John de Weideren Lord of Valburgh, Great Bailiff of the Lower Betuwe, of the
body

body of the nobility of the province of Guelder; *Frédéric Baron of Reede, Lord of Lier, St Anthony, and T'er Lee*, of the order of the nobility of the province of Holland and West Friezeland; *Anthony Heinsius, Counsellor-Pensionary of the province of Holland and West Friezeland, Keeper of the Great Seal, and Superintendant of the fiefs of the same province*; *Cornelius Van Gheet, Lord of Spranbrook, Bulkesteijn, &c.*; *Gedson Hoeuft, Canon of the chapter of the church of St Peter at Utrecht, and elected Counsellor in the states of the province of Utrecht*; *Hassel Van Smimia, Secretary of the chamber of the accounts of the province of Friezeland*; *Ernest Itersum, Lord of Osterhof, of the body of the nobility of the province of Overijssel*; and *Wicher Wichers, Senator of the city of Groningen*; all deputies to the assembly of the said Lords the States-General on the one part, respectively of the provinces of Guelder, Holland, West Friezeland, Zeland, Utrecht, Frieze-land, Overijssel, and Groningen, and Ommelands; who, by virtue of their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles.

ARTICLE I.

THE treaties of peace, friendship, alliance, and confederacy between her Britannic Majesty and the States-General of the United Provinces shall be approved and confirmed by the present treaty, and shall remain in their former force and vigour as if they were inserted word for word.

ARTICLE II.

The succession to the crown of England having been settled by an act of parliament, passed the twelfth year of the reign of his late Majesty K. William III. the title of which is, *An act for the further limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject*; and lately, in the sixth year of the reign of her present Majesty, this succession having been again established and confirmed by another act made for the greater security of her Majesty's person and government, and the succession to the crown of Great Britain, &c. in the line
of

of the Most Serene house of Hanover, and in the person of the Princess Sophia, and of her heirs, successors, and descendents, male and female, already born or to be born: and although no power hath any right to oppose the laws made upon this subject by the crown and parliament of Great Britain; if it shall happen nevertheless, that under any pretence, or by any cause whatever, any person or any power or state may pretend to dispute the establishment which the parliament hath made of the aforesaid succession in the Most Serene house of Hanover, to oppose the said succession, to assist or favour those who may oppose it, whether directly or indirectly, by open war, or by fomenting seditions and conspiracies against her or him to whom the crown of Great Britain shall descend, according to the acts aforesaid; the States-General engage and promise to assist and maintain, in the said succession, her or him to whom it shall belong, by virtue of the said acts of parliament, to assist them in taking possession, if they should not be in actual possession, and to oppose those who would disturb them in the taking such possession, or in the actual possession of the aforesaid succession.

ARTICLE III.

Her said Majesty and the States-General, in consequence of the fifth article of the alliance concluded between the Emperor, the late King of Great Britain, and the States-General; the 7th of September 1701, will employ all their force to recover the rest of the Spanish Low Countries.

ARTICLE IV.

And further, they will endeavour to conquer as many towns and forts as they can, in order to their being a barrier and security to the said States.

ARTICLE V.

And whereas, according to the ninth article of the said alliance, it is to be agreed, amongst other matters, how and in what manner the States shall be made safe by means of this barrier, the QUEEN of Great Britain will
use.

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use her endeavours to procure that in the treaty of peace it may be agreed, that all the Spanish Low Countries, and what else may be found necessary, whether conquered or unconquered places, shall serve as a barrier to the States.

ARTICLE VI.

That to this end their High Mightinesses shall have the liberty to put and keep garrison, to change, augment and diminish it as they shall judge proper, in the places following; namely, Newport, Furnes, with the fort of Knocke, Ypres, Menin, the town and citadel of Lisle, Tournay and its citadel, Conde, Valenciennes; and the places which shall from henceforward be conquered from France, Maubeuge, Charleroy, Namur and its citadel, Lier, Halle to fortify, the ports of Perle, Philippe, Damme, the castle of Gand, and Dendermonde. The fort of St Donas being joined to the fortification of the Sluice, and being entirely incorporated with it, shall remain and be yielded in property to the States. The fort of Rodenhuyzen on this side Gand shall be demolished.

ARTICLE VII.

The said States-General may, in case of an apparent attack, or war, put as many troops as they shall think necessary in all the towns, places, and forts in the Spanish Low Countries, where the reason of war shall require it.

ARTICLE VIII.

They may likewise send into the towns, forts, and places, where they shall have their garrisons, without any hinderance and without paying any duties, provisions, ammunitions of war, arms, and artillery, materials for the fortifications, and all that shall be found convenient and necessary for the said garrisons and fortifications.

ARTICLE IX.

The said States-General shall also have liberty to appoint in the towns, forts, and places of their barrier, mentioned

mentioned in the foregoing sixth article, where they may have garrisons, such governors and commanders, majors and other officers as they shall find proper, who shall not be subject to any other orders, whatsoever they may be, or from whencesoever they may come, relating to the security and military government of the said places, but only to those of their High Mightinesses (exclusive of all others); still preserving the rights and privileges, as well ecclesiastical as political, of K. Charles III.

ARTICLE X.

That besides the States shall have liberty to fortify the said towns, places, and forts which belong to them, and repair the fortifications of them in such manner as they shall judge necessary; and further to do whatever shall be useful for their defence.

ARTICLE XI.

It is agreed, that the States-General shall have all the revenues of the towns, places, jurisdictions, and their dependencies, which they shall have for their barrier from France, which were not in the possession of the crown of Spain at the time of the death of the late K. Charles II. and besides, a million of livres shall be settled for the payment of one hundred thousand crowns every three months, out of the clearest revenues of the Spanish Low Countries, which the said King was then in possession of; both which are for maintaining the garrisons of the States, and for supplying the fortifications, as also the magazines, and other necessary expences in the towns and places above mentioned. And that the said revenues may be sufficient to support these expences, endeavours shall be used for enlarging the dependencies and jurisdictions aforesaid as much as possible; and particularly, for including with the jurisdiction of Ypres that of Cassel, and the forest of Niepe; and with the jurisdiction of Lisle the jurisdiction of Douay, both having been so joined before the present war.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE XII.

That no town, fort, place, or country of the Spanish Low Countries shall be granted, transferred, or given, or descend to the crown of France, or any of the line of France, neither by virtue of any gift, sale, exchange, marriage, agreement, inheritance, succession by will, or through want of will, from no title whatsoever, nor in any other manner whatsoever, nor be put into the power, or under the authority of the Most Christian King, or any one of the line of France.

ARTICLE XIII.

And whereas the said States-General, in consequence of the ninth article of the said alliance, are to make a convention or treaty with K. Charles the Third, for putting the States in a condition of safety by means of the said barrier, the QUEEN of Great Britain will do what depends upon her, that all the foregoing particulars relating to the barrier of the States may be inserted in the aforesaid treaty or convention; and that her said Majesty will continue her good offices, until the above-mentioned convention between the States and the said K. Charles the Third be concluded, agreeably to what is before mentioned; and that her Majesty will be guarantee of the said treaty or convention.

ARTICLE XIV.

And that the said States may enjoy from henceforward, as much as possible, a barrier for the Spanish Low Countries, they shall be permitted to put their garrisons in the towns already taken, and which may hereafter be so, before the peace be concluded and ratified. And in the mean time the said K. Charles the Third shall not be allowed to enter into possession of the said Spanish Low Countries, neither entirely nor in part: and during that time the QUEEN shall assist their High Mightinesses to maintain them in the enjoyment of the revenues, and to find the million of livres a-year above mentioned.

ARTICLE

SOME REMARKS ON

ARTICLE XV.

And whereas their High Mightinesses have stipulated by the treaty of Munster, in the fourteenth article, that the river Scheld, as also the canals of Sas, Swan, and other mouths of the sea bordering thereupon should be kept shut on the side of the States :

And in the fifteenth article, that the ships and commodities going in and coming out of the harbours of Flanders shall be, and remain charged with all such imposts, and other duties, as are raised upon commodities going and coming along the Scheld, and the other canals above mentioned :

The QUEEN of Great Britain promises and engages, that their High Mightinesses shall never be disturbed in their right and possession in that respect, neither directly or indirectly ; as also, that the commerce shall not in prejudice of the said treaty be made more easy by the sea-ports than by the rivers, canals, and mouths of the sea, on the side of the States of the United Provinces, neither directly or indirectly.

And whereas by the sixteenth and seventeenth articles of the same treaty of Munster his Majesty the King of Spain is obliged to treat the subjects of their High Mightinesses as favourably as the subjects of Great Britain and the Hans towns, who were then the people most favourably treated ; her Britannic Majesty and their High Mightinesses promise likewise to take care that the subjects of Great Britain, and of their High Mightinesses shall be treated in the Spanish Low Countries as well as in Spain, the kingdoms and states belonging to it, equally and as well the one as the other, as the people most favoured,

ARTICLE XVI.

The said QUEEN and States-General oblige themselves to furnish by sea and land the succours and assistance necessary to maintain by force her said Majesty in the quiet possession of her kingdoms ; and the Most Serene house of Hanover in the said succession in the manner it is settled by the acts of parliament before mentioned ; and to maintain

tain the said States-General in the possession of the said barrier.

ARTICLE XVII.

After the ratifications of the treaty a particular convention shall be made of the conditions, by which the said QUEEN, and the said Lords the States-General, will engage themselves to furnish the succours which shall be thought necessary, as well by sea as by land.

ARTICLE XVIII.

If her British Majesty, or the States-General of the United Provinces, be attacked by any body whatsoever by reason of this convention, they shall mutually assist one another with all their forces, and become guarantees of the execution of the said convention.

ARTICLE XIX.

There shall be invited and admitted into the present treaty, as soon as possible, all the kings, princes, and states, who shall be willing to enter into the same, particularly his Imperial Majesty, the Kings of Spain and Prussia, and the Elector of Hanover. And her British Majesty and the States-General of the United Provinces, and each of them in particular, shall be permitted to require and invite those whom they shall think fit to require and invite, to enter into this treaty, and to be guarantees of its execution.

ARTICLE XX.

And as time hath shewn the omission which was made in the treaty signed at Ryswick in the year 1697, between England and France, in respect of the right of the succession of England in the person of her Majesty the QUEEN of Great Britain, now reigning; and that for want of having settled in that treaty this indisputable right of her Majesty, France refused to acknowledge her for QUEEN of Great Britain after the death of the late K. William III.

of glorious memory: her Majesty the QUEEN of Great Britain, and the Lords the States-General of the United Provinces, do agree, and engage themselves likewise, not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France, before the title of her Majesty to the crown of Great Britain, as also the right of succession of the Most Serene house of Hanover to the aforesaid crown, in the manner it is settled and established by the before-mentioned acts of parliament, be fully acknowledged as a preliminary by France, and that France hath promised at the same time to remove out of its dominions the person who pretends to be King of Great Britain; and that no negotiation, or formal discussion of the articles of the said treaty of peace, shall be entered into but jointly, and at the same time with the said QUEEN, or with her ministers.

ARTICLE XXI.

Her British Majesty, and the Lords the States-General of the United Provinces, shall ratify and confirm all that is contained in the present treaty within the space of four weeks, to be reckoned from the day of the signing. In testimony whereof, the underwritten ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of her British Majesty, and the deputies of the Lords the States-General, have signed this present treaty, and have affixed their seals thereunto.

At the Hague the 29th of October, in the year 1709.

(L. S.) Townshend.

(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.

(L. S.) G. Hoeuft.

(L. S.) E. V. Ittersum.

(L. S.) J. V. Welderen.

(L. S.) A. Heinsius.

(L. S.) H. Sminia.

(L. S.) W. Wichers.

THE

THE SEPARATE ARTICLE.

AS in the preliminary articles signed here at the Hague, the 28th of May 1709, by the plenipotentiaries of his Imperial Majesty, of her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, and of the Lords the States-General of the United Provinces, it is stipulated, amongst other things, that the Lords the States-General shall have, with entire property and sovereignty, the upper quarter of Guelder, according to the fifty-second article of the treaty of Munster, of the year 1648; as also, that the garrisons which are, or hereafter shall be, on the part of the Lords the States-General, in the town of Huy, the citadel of Liege, and in the town of Bonne, shall remain there, until it shall be otherwise agreed upon with his Imperial Majesty and the empire: and as the barrier, which is this day agreed upon in the principal treaty for the mutual guarantee between her British Majesty and the Lords the States-General, cannot give to the United Provinces the safety for which it is established, unless it be well secured from one end to the other, and that the communication of it be well joined together, for which the upper quarter of Guelder, and the garrisons in the citadel of Liege, Huy, and Bonne are absolutely necessary: (experience having thrice shewn, that France having a design to attack the United Provinces, has made use of the places above mentioned, in order to come at them, and to penetrate into the said provinces). And further, as in respect to the equivalent for which the upper quarter of Guelder is to be yielded to the United Provinces, according to the fifty-second article of the treaty of Munster above mentioned, his Majesty K. Charles III. will be much more gratified and advantaged in other places, than that equivalent can avail: to the end therefore that the Lords the States-General may have the upper quarter of Guelder with entire property and sovereignty; and that the said upper quarter of Guelder may be yielded in this manner to the said Lords the States-General, in the convention, or the treaty that they are to make with his Majesty K. Charles III. according to the thirteenth article of the treaty concluded this day; as also, that their gar-

risons in the citadel of Liege, in that of Huy, and in Bonne, may remain there, until it be otherwise agreed upon with his Imperial Majesty and the empire; her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain engages herself, and promises by this separate article, which shall have the same force as if it were inserted in the principal treaty, to make the same efforts for all this, as she hath engaged herself to make for the obtaining the barrier in the Spanish Low Countries. In testimony whereof, the underwritten ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of her British Majesty, and deputies of the Lords the States-General, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed their seals thereunto.

At the Hague, the 29th of October 1709.

(L. S.) Townshend.

(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.

(L. S.) G. Hœuft.

(L. S.) E. V. Itterfium.

(L. S.) J. V. Welderen.

(L. S.) A. Heinlius.

(L. S.) H. Sminia.

(L. S.) W. Wichers.

THE SECOND SEPARATE ARTICLE.

AS the Lords the States-General have represented, that in Flanders the limits between Spanish Flanders and that of the States are settled in such a manner, as that the land belonging to the States is extremely narrow there; so that in some places the territory of Spanish Flanders extends itself to the fortifications, and under the cannon of the places, towns, and forts of the States, which occasions many inconveniencies, as hath been seen by an example a little before the beginning of the present war, when a fort was designed to have been built under the cannon of the Sas Van Gand, under pretence, that it was upon the territory of Spain: and as it is necessary, for avoiding these, and other sorts of inconveniencies, that the land of the States upon the confines of Flanders should

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be enlarged, and that the places, towns, and forts should by that means be better covered: her British Majesty, entering into the just motives of the said Lords the States-General in this respect, promises and engages herself, by this separate article, that in the convention which the said Lords the States-General are to make with his Majesty K. Charles III. she will assist them, as that it may be agreed, that by the cession to the said Lords the States-General of the property of an extent of land necessary to obviate such like, and other inconveniences, their limits in Flanders shall be enlarged more conveniently for their security; and those of the Spanish Flanders removed farther from their towns, places, and forts, to the end that these may not be exposed any more. In testimony whereof, the underwritten ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of her British Majesty, and deputies of the Lords the States-General, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed their seals thereunto.

At the Hague, the 29th of October 1709.

(L. S.) Townshend.

(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.

(L. S.) A. Heinsius.

(L. S.) G. Hoefst.

(L. S.) H. Sminia.

(L. S.) E. V. Ittersum.

The articles of the Counter-project, which were struck out or altered by the Dutch in the Barrier-treaty, with some Remarks.

ARTICLE VI.

TO this end their High Mightinesses shall have power to put and keep garrisons in the following places, viz. Newport, Knocke, Menin, the citadel of Lille, Tournay, Conde, Valenciennes, Namur and its citadel, Eier, Halle to fortify, the fort of Perle, Damme, and the castle of Gand.

REMARKS.

In the barrier-treaty the States added the following places to those mentioned in this article, *viz.* Furnes, Ypres, towns of Lisle, Maubeuge, Charleroy, Philippe, fort of St Donas (which is to be in property to the States), and the fort of Rodenhuyfen to be demolished. To say nothing of the other places, Dendermond is the key of all Brabant; and the demolishing of the fort of Rodenhuyfen, situate between Gand and Sas Van Gand, can only serve to defraud the King of Spain of the duties upon goods imported and exported there.

ARTICLE VII.

The said States may put into the said towns, forts, and places, and in case of open war with France, into all the other towns, places, and forts, whatever troops the reason of war shall require.

REMARKS.

But in the barrier-treaty it is said, *in case of an apparent attack, or war*, without specifying against France: neither is the number of troops limited to what the reason of war shall require, but what the States shall think necessary.

ARTICLE IX.

Besides some smaller differences, ends with a salvo, not only for the ecclesiastical and civil rights of the King of Spain, but likewise for his revenues in the said towns; which revenues in the barrier-treaty are all given to the States.

ARTICLE XI.

The revenues of the chatellanies and dependencies of the towns and places, which the States shall have for their barrier against France, and which were not in the possession of the crown of Spain at the late King of Spain's death, shall be settled to be a fund for maintaining garrisons,

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garrisons, and providing for the fortifications and magazines, and other necessary charges of the said towns on the barrier.

REMARKS.

I desire the reader to compare this with the eleventh article of the barrier-treaty, where he will see how prodigiously it is enlarged.

ARTICLE XIV.

All this to be without prejudice to such other treaties and conventions as the QUEEN of Great Britain and their High Mightinesses may think fit to make for the future with the said K. Charles III. relating to the said Spanish Netherlands, or to the said barrier.

ARTICLE XV.

And to the end that the said States may enjoy at present, as much as it is possible, a barrier in the Spanish Netherlands, they shall be permitted to put their garrisons in the chief towns already taken, or that may be taken, before a peace be made.

REMARKS.

These two articles are not in the barrier-treaty, but two others in their stead; to which I refer the reader. And indeed it was highly necessary for the Dutch to strike out the former of these articles, when so great a part of the treaty is so highly and manifestly prejudicial to Great Britain, as well as to the King of Spain; especially in the two articles inserted in the place of these, which I desire the reader will examine.

ARTICLE XX.

And whereas by the fifth and ninth articles of the alliance between the Emperor, the late King of Great Britain, and the States-General, concluded the 7th of September 1701, it is agreed and stipulated, that the kingdoms

kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with all the dependencies of the crown of Spain in Italy, shall be recovered from the possession of France, as being of the last consequence to the trade of both nations, as well as the Spanish Netherlands for a barrier for the States-General; therefore the said QUEEN of Great Britain, and the States-General agree and oblige themselves not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France, before the restitution of the said kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with all the dependencies of the crown of Spain in Italy as well as the Spanish Low Countries, with the other towns and places in the possession of France above mentioned in this treaty; and also after the manner specified in this treaty; as likewise all the rest of the entire monarchy of Spain be yielded by France as a preliminary.

ARTICLE XXII.

And whereas experience hath shewn of what importance it is to Great Britain and the United Provinces, that the fortress and port of Dunkirk should not be in the possession of France in the condition they are at present; the subjects of both nations having undergone such great losses, and suffered so much in their trade by the prizes taken from them by privateers set out from that port; insomuch that France, by her unmeasurable ambition, may be always tempted to make some enterprises upon the territories of the QUEEN of Great Britain and their High Mightinesses, and interrupt the public repose and tranquillity; for the preservation of which, and the balance of Europe against the exorbitant power of France, the allies engaged themselves in this long and burthensome war; therefore the said QUEEN of Great Britain, and their High Mightinesses agree, and oblige themselves not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France, before it shall be yielded and stipulated by France as a preliminary, that all the fortifications of the said town of Dunkirk, and the forts that depend upon it, be entirely demolished and razed, and that the port be entirely ruined and rendered impracticable.

REMARKS

REMARKS.

These two articles are likewise omitted in the barrier-treaty: whereof the first regards particularly the interests of the house of Austria; and the other about demolishing Dunkirk those of Great Britain. It is something strange, that the late ministry, whose advocates raise such a clamour about the necessity of recovering Spain from the house of Bourbon, should suffer the Dutch to strike out this article, which I think clearly shews the reason why the States never troubled themselves with the thoughts of reducing Spain, or even recovering Milan, Naples, and Sicily to the Emperor; but were wholly fixed upon the conquest of Flanders, because they had determined those provinces as a property for themselves.

As for the article about demolishing of Dunkirk, I am not at all surpris'd to find it struck out; the destruction of that place, although it would be useful to the States, doth more nearly import Britain, and was therefore a point that such ministers could more easily get over.

The sentiments of Prince EUGENE of Savoy, and of the Count DE SINZENDORF, relating to the barrier of the States-General, to the upper quarter of Guelder, and to the towns of the electorate of Cologne, and of the bishopric of Liege.

ALthough the orders and instructions of the courts of Vienna and Barcelona upon the matters above mentioned do not go so far as to give directions for what follows; notwithstanding, the Prince and Count above mentioned, considering the present state of affairs, are of the following opinion.

First, that the counter-project of England, relating to the places where the States-General may put and keep garrisons, ought to be followed, except Lier, Halle to fortify, and the castle of Gand. Provided likewise, that the sentiments of England be particularly conformed to relating to Dendermond and Ostend, as places in no wise belonging

belonging to the barrier; and which, as well as the castle of Gand, can only serve to make the States-General masters of the Low Countries, and hinder trade with England. And as to Lier and Halle, those who are acquainted with the country know that these towns cannot give any security to the States-General; but can only make people believe, that these places being fortified would rather serve to block up Brussels and the other great cities of Brabant.

Secondly, As to what is said in the seventh article of the counter-project of England, relating to the augmentation of garrisons in the towns of the barrier in case of an open war; this is agreeable to the opinions of the said Prince and Count; who think likewise, that there ought to be added to the eighth article, that no goods or merchandise should be sent into the towns where the States-General shall have garrisons, nor be comprehended under the names of such things as the said garrisons and fortifications shall have need of. And that to this end the said things shall be inspected in those places where they are to pass; as likewise the quantity shall be settled that the garrisons may want.

Thirdly, As to the ninth article relating to the governors and commanders of those towns, forts, and places where the States-General shall have their garrisons; the said Prince and Count are of opinion, that the said governors and commanders ought to take an oath as well to the King of Spain as to the States-General: but they may take a particular oath to the latter, that they will not admit foreign troops without their consent; and that they will depend exclusively upon the said States in whatever regards the military power. But at the same time they ought exclusively to promise the King of Spain, that they will not intermeddle in the affairs of law, civil power, revenues, or any other matters, ecclesiastical or civil, unless at the desire of the King's officers to assist them in the execution; in which case the said commanders should be obliged not to refuse them.

Fourthly, As to the tenth article there is nothing to be added, unless that the States-General may repair and increase the fortifications of the towns, places, and forts where they shall have their garrisons; but this at their own.

own expence. Otherwise, under that pretext they might seize all the revenues of the country.

Fifthly, As to the eleventh article, they think the States ought not to have the revenues of the chatellanies and dependencies of these towns and places, which are to be their barrier against France; this being a sort of sovereignty, and very prejudicial to the ecclesiastical and civil œconomy of the country. But the said Prince and Count are of opinion, that the States-General ought to have, for the maintenance of their garrisons and fortifications, a sum of money of a million and a half, or two millions of florins, which they ought to receive from the King's officers, who shall be ordered to pay that sum before any other payment.

Sixthly, And the convention which shall be made on this affair between his Catholic Majesty and the States-General shall be for a limited time.

These are the utmost conditions to which the said Prince and Count think it possible for his Catholic Majesty to be brought; and they declare at the same time, that their Imperial and Catholic Majesties will sooner abandon the Low Countries, than take them upon other conditions, which would be equally expensive, shameful, and unacceptable to them.

On the other side, the said Prince and Count are persuaded, that the advantages at this time yielded to the States-General may hereafter be very prejudicial to themselves; forasmuch as they may put the people of the Spanish Netherlands to some dangerous extremity, considering the antipathy between the two nations; and that extending of frontiers is entirely contrary to the maxims of their government.

As to the upper quarter of Guelder, the said Prince and Count are of opinion, that the States-General may be allowed the power of putting in garrisons into Venlo, Ruremond, and Steffenswaert, with orders to furnish the said States with the revenues of the country, which amount to one hundred thousand florins.

As to Bonne, belonging to the electorate of Cologne, Liege, and Huy to the bishopric of Liege, it is to be understood, that these being *Imperial* towns, it doth not depend upon the Emperor to consent that foreign garrisons

sons should be placed in them upon any pretence whatsoever. But whereas the States-General demand them only for their security, it is proposed to place in those towns a garrison of *Imperial* troops, of whom the States may be in no suspicion, as they might be of a garrison of an elector, who might possibly have views opposite to their interests. But this is proposed only in case that it shall not be thought more proper to raze one or other of the said towns.

The Representation of the English merchants at Bruges, relating to the Barrier-treaty.

DAVID WHITE, *and other merchants, her Majesty's subjects residing at Bruges, and other towns in Flanders, crave leave humbly to represent,*

THAT whereas the cities of Lisse, Tournay, Menin, Douay, and other new conquests in Flanders and Artois, taken from the French this war by the united forces of her Majesty and her allies, are now become entirely under the government of the States-General; and that we her Majesty's subjects may be made liable to such duties and impositions on trade as the said States-General shall think fit to impose on us: we humbly hope and conceive, that it is her Majesty's intention and design, that the trade of her dominions and subjects, which is carried on with these new conquests, may be on an equal foot with that of the subjects and dominions of the States-General, and not liable to any new duty, when transported from the Spanish Netherlands to the said new conquests, as to our great surprise is exacted from us on the following goods, *viz.* butter, tallow, salmon, hides, beef, and all other product of her Majesty's dominions, which we import at Ostend, and there pay the duty of entry to the King of Spain, and consequently ought not to be liable to any new duty, when they carry the same goods, and all others, from their dominions by a free pass or *transire* to the said new conquest: and we are under apprehension, that if the said new conquests be settled,

ted, or given entirely into the possession of the States-General for their barrier, (as we are made believe by a treaty lately made by her Majesty's ambassador, the Lord Viscount Townshend, at the Hague), that the States-General may also soon declare all goods and merchandises, which are contraband in their provinces, to be also contraband or prohibited in these new conquests, or new barrier; by which her Majesty's subjects will be deprived of the sale and consumption of the following products of her Majesty's dominions, which are and have long been declared contraband in the United Provinces, such as English and Scots salt, malt spirits, or corn brandy, and all other sorts of distilled English spirits, whale and rape oil, &c.

It is therefore humbly conceived, that her Majesty, out of her great care and gracious concern for the benefit of her subjects and dominions, may be pleased to direct, by a treaty of commerce, or some other way, that their trade may be put on an equal foot in all the Spanish Netherlands, and the new conquests of barrier with the subjects of Holland, by paying no other duty than that of importation to the King of Spain; and by a provision, that no product of her Majesty's dominions shall ever be declared contraband in these new conquests, except such goods as were esteemed contraband before the death of Charles II. King of Spain. And it is also humbly prayed, that the product and manufacture of the new conquests may be also exported without paying any new duty, besides that of exportation at Ostend, which was always paid to the King of Spain; it being impossible for any nation in Europe to afford an entire cargo for the Spanish West Indies without a considerable quantity of several of the manufactures of Lisle; such as caradoros, cajant, picofes, boratten, and many other goods.

The chief things to be demanded of France are, to be exempted from tonnage, to have a liberty of importing herrings and all other fish to France on the same terms as the Dutch do, and as was agreed by them at the treaty of commerce immediately after the treaty of peace at Ryswick. The enlarging her Majesty's plantations in America, &c. is naturally recommended.

The EXAMINER*.

N^o 13. Thursday, November 2. 1710.

*Longa est injuria, longa
Ambages; sed summa sequar fastigia rerum.*

IT is a practice I have generally followed, to converse in equal freedom with the deserving men of both parties; and it was never without some contempt, that I have observed persons wholly out of employment affect to do otherwise. I doubted, whether any man could owe so much to the side he was of, although he

* In August 1710, a weekly paper, called, *The EXAMINER*, began to be published. It was esteemed to be the work of several eminent hands; among which were reckoned Lord Bolingbroke, Dr Atterbury Bishop of Rochester, Mr Prior, and some others. However it came about, the general opinion is, that those persons proceeded no further than to the first twelve papers: after which it seems to be agreed, that the undertaking was carried on by Dr Swift, who began with number 13. and ended at number 50. For although the paper continued many months after to be published, under the title of *The EXAMINER*; yet, by the inequality of the performance, it was manifest to all judicious persons, that Dr Swift had not the least share in them. *Dublin edition.*

As N^o 13. was the first of these papers written by Dr Swift, N^o 44. was the last. Six more have been printed in the Irish edition; which is a proof, among many others, that he was not the editor. In a letter of his to Stella, dated June 7. 1711, the day on which the *Examiner*, N^o 44. was published, there is the following paragraph. "As for the *EXAMINER*, I have "heard a whisper, that after that of this day, which tells what "this parliament has done, you will hardly find them so good: "I prophesy they will be trash for the future; and methinks, "in this day's *Examiner*, the author talks doubtfully, as if he "would write no more; so that if they go on, they may pro-
"bably

he were retained by it; but without some great point of interest, either in possession or prospect, I thought it was the mark of a low and narrow spirit.

It is hard, that for some weeks past I have been forced in my own defence to follow a proceeding that I have so much condemned in others. But several of my acquaintance among the declining party are grown so insufferably peevish and splenetic, profess such violent apprehensions for the public, and represent the state of things in such formidable ideas, that I find myself disposed to share in their afflictions; although I know them to be groundless and imaginary, or, which is worse, purely affected. To offer them comfort one by one, would be not only an endless, but a disobliging task. Some of them, I am convinced, would be less melancholy if there were more occasion. I shall therefore, instead of hearkening to farther complaints, employ some part of this paper for the future in letting such men see, that their natural or acquired tears are ill grounded, and their artificial ones as ill intended;

"bably be by some other hand: which, in my opinion, is a thousand pities; but who can help it? Observe whether the change be discovered in Dublin; only, for your own curiosity that's all." In a subsequent letter, dated August 24. he says, "The *Examiner* has been down this month, and was very silly the five or six last papers. *Hawkes.*

The *EXAMINER* was a weekly paper in defence of the Tory ministry. This paper, as it was carried on by some very eminent hands, having obtained a vogue, Swift took up the character of the *Examiner*, and commenced a regular series of politics with No 13. Nov. 2. 1710; and having completed the main design which first engaged him in the undertaking, with No 44. June 7. 1711, and taken his leave of the town, as appears from the two last paragraphs of that number, he dropt the character of the *Examiner*, and never more writ another paper. There was a paper indeed still supported under the title of the *Examiner*; but it sunk immediately into rudeness and ill manners: and, what is still more, I can take upon me to assert from undeniable authority, even from the authority of Dr Swift himself, that in fact the scurrility in those papers was encouraged by the ministry. In short, the subsequent *Examiners* were written by some under spur-leathers in the city, and were designed merely as proper returns to those Grubstreet-invectives which were thrown out against the administration by the authors of the *Medley*, the *Englishman*, and some other abusive detracting papers of the like stamp. *Swift.*

that all our present inconveniencies are the consequence of the very counsels they so much admire, which wouldst ill have increased if those had continued; and that neither our constitution in church or state could probably have been long preserved without such methods, as have been already taken.

THE late revolutions at court have given room to some specious objections, which I have heard repeated by well-meaning men, just as they had taken them up on the credit of others, who have worse designs. They wonder, the QUEEN would chuse to change her ministry at this juncture, and thereby give uneasiness to a general, who hath been so long successful abroad, and might think himself injured, if the entire ministry were not of his own nomination; that there were few complaints of any consequence against the late men in power, and none at all in parliament, which on the contrary passed votes in favour of the chief minister; that, if her Majesty had a mind to introduce the other party, it would have been more seasonable after a peace, which now we have made desperate by spurring the French, who rejoice at these changes, and by the fall of our credit, which unqualifies us for carrying on the war; that the parliament, so untimely dissolved, had been diligent in their supplies, and dutiful in their behaviour; that one consequence of these changes appears already in the fall of the stocks; that we may soon expect more and worse; and, lastly, that all this naturally tends to break the settlement of the crown, and call over the pretender.

These, and the like notions, are plentifully scattered abroad by the malice of a ruined party, to render the QUEEN and her administration odious, and to inflame the nation. And these are what, upon occasion, I shall endeavour to overthrow by discovering the falsehood and absurdity of them.

It is a great unhappiness, when in a government constituted like ours it should be so brought about, that the continuance of a war must be for the interest of vast numbers (civil, as well as military) who otherwise would have been as unknown, as their original. I think our present
condition

condition of affairs is admirably described by two verses in Lucan:

*Hinc usura vorax, avidumque in tempore sænus,
Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum.*

Which, without any great force upon the words, may be thus translated:

Hence are derived those exorbitant interests and annuities; hence those large discounts for advance and prompt payment; hence public credit is shaken; and hence great numbers find their profit in prolonging the war.

It is odd, that among a free trading people, as we call ourselves, there should so many be found to close in with those counsels, who have been ever averse from all overtures towards a peace: but yet there is no great mystery in the matter. Let any man observe the equipages in this town, he shall find the greater number of those who make a figure, to be a species of men quite different from any that were ever known before the revolution, consisting either of generals and colonels, or of those whose whole fortunes lie in funds and stocks; so that *power*, which, according to the old maxim, was used to follow *land*, is now gone over to *money*; and the country-gentleman is in the condition of a young heir, out of whose estate a scrivener receives half the rents for interest, and hath a mortgage on the whole; and is therefore always ready to feed his vices and extravagancies, while there is any thing left. So that if the war continue some years longer, a landed man will be little better than a farmer of a rack-rent to the army and to the public funds.

It may perhaps be worth inquiring, from what beginnings and by what steps we have been brought into this desperate condition: and in search of this we must run up as high as the revolution.

Most of the nobility and gentry, who invited over the Prince of Orange, or attended him in his expedition, were true lovers of their country, and its constitution in church and state; and were brought to yield to those breaches in the succession of the crown, out of a regard to the necessity of the kingdom and the safety of the people, which did, and could only make them lawful; but with-

out intention of drawing such a practice into precedent, or making it a standing measure by which to proceed in all times to come; and therefore we find their counsels ever tended to keep things, as much as possible, in the old course. But soon after, and under a set of men who had nothing to lose, and had neither borne the burthen nor heat of the day, found means to whisper in the King's ear, that the principles of loyalty in the church of England were wholly inconsistent with the *revolution*. Hence began the early practice of caressing the dissenters, reviling the universities, as maintainers of arbitrary power, and reproaching the clergy with the doctrines of *divine right*, *passive obedience*, and *non-resistance*. At the same time, in order to fasten wealthy people to the new government, they proposed those pernicious expedients of borrowing money by vast *premiums*, and at exorbitant interest: a practice as old as Eumenes, one of Alexander's captains, who, setting up for himself after the death of his master, persuaded his principal officers to lend him great sums, after which they were forced to follow him for their own security.

This introduced a number of new dexterous men into business and credit. It was argued, that the war could not last above two or three campaigns; and that it was easier for the subjects to raise a fund for paying interest, than to tax them annually to the full expense of the war. Several persons, who had small or incumbered estates, sold them, and turned their money into those funds, to great advantage: merchants, as well as other moneyed men, finding trade was dangerous, pursued the same method. But the war continuing, and growing more expensive, taxes were increased, and funds multiplied every year, till they have arrived at the monstrous height we now behold them; and that which was at first a corruption, is at last grown necessary, and what every good subject must now fall in with, although he may be allowed to wish it might soon have an end; because it is with a kingdom as with a private fortune, where every new incumbrance adds a double weight. By this means the wealth of a nation, that used to be reckoned by the value of land, is now computed by the rise and fall of
stocks:

stocks: and although the foundation of credit be still the same, and upon a bottom that can never be shaken, and although all interest be duly paid by the public; yet, through the contrivance and cunning of *stockjobbers*, there hath been brought in such a complication of knavery and cozenage, such a mystery of iniquity, and such an unintelligible jargon of terms to involve it in, as were never known in any other age or country in the world. I have heard it affirmed by persons skilled in these calculations, that if the funds appropriated to the payment of interest and annuities were added to the yearly taxes, and the four-shilling aid strictly exacted in all counties of the kingdom, it would very near, if not fully, supply the occasions of the war; at least such a part as, in the opinion of very able persons, had been at that time prudent not to exceed. For I make it a question, Whether any wise prince or state in the continuance of a war, which was not purely defensive, or immediately at his own door, did ever propose that his expense should perpetually exceed what he was able to impose annually upon his subjects? Neither if the war last many years longer, do I see how the next generation will be able to begin another; which, in the course of human affairs, and according to the various interests and ambition of princes, may be as necessary for them, as it hath been for us. And if our fathers had left us as deeply involved, as we are likely to leave our children, I appeal to any man, what sort of figure we should have been able to make these twenty years past. Besides, neither our enemies nor allies are upon the same foot with us in this particular. France and Holland, our nearest neighbours, and the farthest engaged, will much sooner recover themselves after a war: the first, by the absolute power of the prince, who, being master of the lives and fortunes of his subjects, will quickly find expedients to pay his debts; and so will the other, by their prudent administration, the greatness of their trade, their wonderful parsimony, the willingness of their people to undergo all kind of taxes, and their justice in applying as well as collecting them. But above all, we are to consider, that France and Holland fight on the continent, either upon, or near their own territories,
and

and the greatest part of the money circulates among themselves ; whereas ours crosses the sea, either to Flanders, Spain, or Portugal, and every penny of it, whether in specie or returns, is so much lost to the nation for ever.

Upon these considerations alone, it was the most prudent course imaginable in the QUEEN, to lay hold of the disposition of the people for changing the parliament and ministry at this juncture, and extricating herself as soon as possible out of the pupillage of those who found their accounts only in perpetuating the war. Neither have we the least reason to doubt, but the ensuing parliament will assist her MAJESTY with the utmost vigour, until her enemies again be brought to sue for peace, and *again* offer such terms as will make it both honourable and lasting ; only with this difference, that the ministry perhaps will not *again* refuse them.

Audiet pugnas vitio parentum

Rara juvenus.

N^o 14. Thursday, November 9. 1710.

E quibus hi vacuas implent sermonibus aures,

Hi narrata serunt alio : mensuraque ficti

Crescit, et auditis aliquid novus adjicit autor.

Illic credulitas, illic temerarius error,

Vanaque lætitia est, consternatique timores,

Seditioque recens, dubioque autore susurri.

I AM prevailed on, through the importunity of friends, to interrupt the scheme I had begun in my last paper, by an essay upon the art of *political lying*. We are told *the devil is the father of lies*, and *was a liar from the beginning* ; so that, beyond contradiction, the invention is old : and, which is more, his first essay of it was purely *political*, employed in undermining the authority of his prince, and seducing the third part of the subjects from their obedience ; for which he was driven down from heaven, where, as Milton expresseth it, he had been

VICEROY

VICEROY of a great *western province*; and forced to exercise his talent in inferior regions among *other fallen spirits*, or *poor deluded men*, whom he still daily tempts to *his own sin*, and will ever do so, till he be *chained in the bottomless pit*.

But although the devil be the father of *lies*, he seems, like other great inventors, to have lost much of his reputation by the continual improvements that have been made upon him.

Who first reduced *lying* into an art, and adapted it to *politics*, is not so clear from history; although I have made some diligent inquiries. I shall therefore consider it only according to the modern system, as it hath been cultivated these twenty years past in the southern part of our own island.

The poets tell us, that after the giants were overthrown by the gods, the *Earth* in revenge produced her last offspring, which was *Fame*. And the fable is thus interpreted; that when tumults and seditions are quieted, rumours and false reports are plentifully spread through a nation. So that, by this account, *lying* is the last relief of a *routed, earth-born, rebellious party* in a state. But here the moderns have made great additions, applying this art to the gaining of power and preserving it, as well as revenging themselves after they have lost it; as the same instruments are made use of by animals to feed themselves when they are hungry, and to bite those that tread upon them.

But the same genealogy cannot always be admitted for *political lying*; I shall therefore desire to refine upon it, by adding some circumstances of its birth and parents. A *political lie* is sometimes born out of a discarded statesman's head, and thence delivered to be nursed and dandled by the *rabble*. Sometimes it is produced a monster, and *licked* into shape: at other times it comes into the world completely formed, and is spoiled in the *licking*. It is often born an infant in the regular way, and requires time to mature it; and often it sees the light in its full growth, but dwindles away by degrees. Sometimes it is of noble birth; and sometimes the spawn of a *stockjobber*. Here it screams aloud at the opening of the womb; and
there

there it is delivered with a *whisper*. I know a *lie*, that now disturbs half the kingdom with its noise, which, although too proud and great at present to own its parents, I can remember its *whisper-hood*. To conclude the nativity of this monster; when it comes into the world without a *sting*, it is still-born; and whenever it loses its *sting*, it dies.

No wonder if an infant so miraculous in its birth should be destined for great adventures; and accordingly we see it hath been the *guardian spirit* of a *prevailing party* for almost twenty years. It can conquer kingdoms without fighting, and sometimes with the loss of a battle. It gives and resumes employments; can sink a mountain to a molehill, and raise a molehill to a mountain; hath presided for many years at committees of elections; can wash a *black-a-more* white; make a saint of an atheist, and a patriot of a profligate; can furnish *foreign ministers* with intelligence; and raise or let fall the credit of the nation. This goddess flies with a huge *looking-glass* in her hands to dazzle the croud, and make them see, according as she turns it, their ruin in their interest, and their interest in their ruin. In this glass you will behold your best friends clad in coats powdered with *fleurs de lis* and *triple crowns*, their girdles hung round with *chain*, and *beads*, and *wooden shoes*; and your worst enemies adorned with the ensigns of *liberty*, *property*, *indulgence*, *moderation*, and a *cornucopia* in their hands. Her large wings, like those of a flying fish, are of no use but while they are moist; she therefore dips them in *mud*, and soaring aloft scatters it in the eyes of the multitude, flying with great swiftness; but at every turn is forced to stoop in *dirty ways* for new supplies.

I have been sometimes thinking, if a man had the art of the *second sight* for seeing *lies*, as they have in Scotland for seeing spirits, how admirably he might entertain himself in this town by observing the different shapes, sizes, and colours of those swarms of *lies*, which buz about the heads of *some people*, like flies about a horse's ears in summer; or those legions hovering every afternoon in Exchange Alley, enough to darken the air; or over a club

club of discontented grandees, and thence set down in ear-goes to be scattered at elections.

There is one essential point wherein a *political liar* differs from others of the faculty; that he ought to have but a short memory, which is necessary according to the various occasions he meets with every hour of differing from himself, and swearing to both sides of a contradiction, as he finds the persons disposed, with whom he hath to deal. In describing the virtues and vices of mankind, it is convenient, upon every article, to have some eminent person in our eye, from whom we copy our description. I have strictly observed this rule; and my imagination this minute represents before me a certain *great man**, famous for this talent, to the constant practice of which he owes his twenty years reputation of the most skilful head in England for the management of nice affairs. The superiority of his genius consists in nothing else, but an inexhaustible fund of *political lies*, which he plentifully distributes every minute he speaks, and by an unparalleled generosity forgets, and consequently contradicts, the next half-hour. He never yet considered, whether any proposition were true or false, but whether it were convenient for the present minute or company to affirm or deny it; so that if you think fit to refine upon him, by interpreting every thing he says, as we do dreams, by the contrary, you are still to seek, and will find yourself equally deceived whether you believe or no. The only remedy is to suppose, that you have heard some inarticulate sounds without any meaning at all; and besides, that will take off the horror you might be apt to conceive at the oaths wherewith he perpetually tags both ends of every *proposition*; although at the same time, I think, he cannot with any justice be taxed with perjury, when he invokes God and Christ; because he hath often fairly given public notice to the world, that he believes in neither.

Some people may think, that such an accomplishment as this can be of no great use to the owner, or his party, after it hath been often practised and is become notorious;

* The late Earl of Wharton.

but

but they are widely mistaken. Few *lies* carry the inventor's mark, and the most prostitute enemy to truth may spread a thousand without being known for the author: besides, as the vilest writer hath his readers, so the greatest *liar* hath his believers: and it often happens, that if a *lie* be believed only for an hour, it hath done its work, and there is no farther occasion for it. *Falsehood flies*, and *Truth* comes *limping* after it; so that when men come to be undeceived, it is too late; the jest is over, and the tale has had its effect: like a man, who has thought of a good repartee, when the discourse is changed, or the company parted; or like a physician, who hath found out an infallible medicine, after the patient is dead.

Considering that natural disposition in many men to *lie*, and in multitudes to *believe*, I have been perplexed what to do with that maxim so frequent in every body's mouth; *That truth will at last prevail*. Here hath this island of ours, for the greatest part of twenty years, lain under the influence of such counsels and persons, whose principle and interest it was to corrupt our manners, blind our understanding, drain our wealth, and in time destroy our constitution both in church and state; and we at last were brought to the very brink of ruin; yet, by the means of perpetual representations, have never been able to distinguish between our enemies and friends. We have seen a great part of the nation's money got into the hands of those, who, by their birth, education, and merit, could pretend no higher than to wear our liveries; while others, who, by their credit, quality, and fortune, were only able to give reputation and success to the revolution, were not only laid aside as dangerous and useless, but loaded with the scandal of Jacobites, men of *arbitrary principles*, and *pensioners* to France; while truth, who is said to *lie in a well*, seemed now to be buried there under a heap of stones. But I remember, it was an usual complaint among the *Whigs*, that the bulk of the landed men was not in their interests, which some of the wisest looked on as an ill omen; and we saw it was with the utmost difficulty, that they could preserve a majority, while the court and ministry were on their side, till they had learned those admirable expedients for deciding elections,

lections, and influencing distant boroughs by *powerful motives* from the city. But all this was mere force and constraint, however upheld by most dexterous artifice and management, until the people began to apprehend their *properties*, their *religion*, and the *monarchy* itself in danger; then we saw them greedily laying hold on the first occasion to interpose. But of this mighty change in the dispositions of the people I shall discourse more at large in some following paper; wherein I shall endeavour to undeceive or discover those deluded or deluding persons, who hope or pretend, it is only a short madness in the vulgar, from which they may soon recover; whereas, I believe, it will appear to be very different in its causes, its symptoms, and its consequences; and prove a great example to illustrate the maxim I lately mentioned, That *truth* (however, sometimes late) *will at last prevail*.

N^o 15. Thursday, November 16. 1710.

—*medioque ut limite curras,*

Icare, ait, moneo: ne si demissior ibis,

Unda gravet pennas; si celsior, ignis adurat.

IT must be avowed, that, for some years past, there have been few things more wanted in England than such a paper, as this ought to be, and such as I will endeavour to make it, as long as it shall be found of any use, without entering into the violences of either party. Considering the many grievous misrepresentations of persons and things, it is highly requisite at this juncture, that the people throughout the kingdom should, if possible, be set right in their opinions by some impartial hand; which hath never been yet attempted; those who have hitherto undertaken it, being, upon every account, the least qualified of all humankind for such a work.

We live here under a limited monarchy, and under the doctrine and discipline of an excellent church. We are unhappily divided into two parties, both which pretend

tend a mighty zeal for our religion and government, only they disagree about the means. The evils we must fence against, are on one side fanaticism and infidelity in religion, and anarchy, under the name of a commonwealth, in government; on the other side, Popery, slavery, and the pretender from France. Now, to inform and direct us in our sentiments upon these weighty points, here are on one side two stupid illiterate scribblers, both of them *fanatics* by profession, I mean the *Review* and *Observer*; on the other side, we have an open *Non-juror**, whose character and person, as well as learning and good sense, discovered upon other subjects, do indeed deserve respect and esteem; but his *Rehearsal*, and the rest of his political papers, are yet more pernicious than those of the former two. If the generality of the people know not how to *talk* or *think*, until they have read their *lesson* in the papers of the week, what a misfortune is it, that their duty should be conveyed to them through such *vehicles* as those? For, let some gentlemen think what they please, I cannot but suspect, that the two worthies I first mentioned have, in a degree, done mischief among us; the mock authoritative manner of the one, and the insipid mirth of the other, however insupportable to reasonable ears, being of a level with great numbers among the lowest part of mankind. Neither was the author of the *Rehearsal*, while he continued that paper, less infectious to many persons of better figure, who perhaps were as well qualified, and much less prejudiced, to judge for themselves.

It was this reason that moved me to take the matter out of those *rough*, as well as those *dirty* hands; to let the remote and uninstructed part of the nation see, that they have been misled on both sides by mad ridiculous extremes, at a wide distance on each side from the truth; while the right path is so broad and plain as to be easily kept, if they were once put into it.

Further, I had lately entered on a resolution to take very little notice of other papers, unless it were such, where the malice and falsehood had so great a mixture of

* The Rev Mr Charles Leslie.

wit and spirit, as would make them dangerous: which, in the present circle of scribblers, from twelve-pence to a halfpenny, I could easily foresee would not very frequently occur. But here again I am forced to dispense with my resolution, although it be only to tell my reader, what measures I am like to take on such occasions for the future. I was told, that the paper, called, *The Observer*, was twice filled last week with remarks upon a late *Examiner*. These I read with the first opportunity, and, to speak in the news-writers phrase, they give me *occasion for many speculations*. I observed with singular pleasure the nature of those *things* which the owners of them usually call *Answers*, and with what dexterity this matchless author had fallen into the whole art and cant of them. To transcribe here and there three or four detached lines of least weight in a discourse, and by a foolish comment mistake every syllable of the meaning, is what I have known many of a superior class to this formidable adversary, intitle, *An Answer*. This is what he hath exactly done in about thrice as many words as my whole discourse; which is so mighty an advantage over me, that I shall by no means engage in so unequal a combat; but, as far as I can judge of my own temper, entirely dismiss him for the future; heartily wishing he had a match exactly of his own size to meddle with, who should only have the odds of truth and honesty, which, as I take it, would be an effectual way to silence him for ever. Upon this occasion I cannot forbear a short story of a *fanatic farmer*, who lived in my neighbourhood, and was so great a disputant in religion, that the servants in all the families thereabouts reported, how he had confuted the bishop and all his clergy. I had then a footman, who was fond of reading the Bible; and I borrowed a comment for him, which he studied so close, that in a month or two I thought him a match for the *farmer*. They disputed at several houses with a ring of servants and other people always about them; where Ned explained his texts so full and clear to the capacity of his audience, and shewed the insignificancy of his adversary's cant to the meanest understanding, that he got the whole country of

his side, and the farmer was cured of his itch of disputation for ever after.

The worst of it is, that this sort of outrageous party-writers I have spoke of above, are like a couple of make-bates, who inflame small quarrels by a thousand stories, and by keeping friends at a distance hinder them from coming to a good understanding; as they certainly would, if they were suffered to meet and debate between themselves. For, let any one examine a reasonable honest man of either side upon those opinions in religion and government, which both parties daily buffet each other about; he shall hardly find one material point in difference between them. I would be glad to ask a question about *two great men* of the late ministry, how they came to be *Whigs*? and by what figure of speech half a dozen others, lately put into great employments, can be called *Tories*? I doubt whoever would suit the definition to the persons, must make it directly contrary to what we understood it at the time of the revolution.

In order to remove these misapprehensions among us, I believe, it will be necessary, upon occasion, to detect the malice and falsehood of some popular maxims, which those idiots scatter from the press twice a-week, and draw an hundred absurd consequences from them.

For example: I have heard it often objected as a great piece of insolence in the clergy and others to say or hint, that the *church was in danger*, when it was voted otherwise in parliament some years ago; and the Queen herself, in her last speech, did openly condemn all such insinuations. Notwithstanding which, I did then, and do still, believe the church hath, since that vote, been in very imminent danger; and I think I might then have said so without the least offence to her Majesty, or either of the two houses. The Queen's words, as near as I can remember, mentioned the church being in danger from *her administration*; and whoever says or thinks that, deserves, in my opinion, to be hanged for a traitor: but that the church and state may be both in danger under the best princes that ever reigned, and without the least guilt of theirs, is such a truth as a man must be a great stranger to history and common sense to doubt.

The

The wisest prince on earth may be forced by the necessity of his affairs, and the present power of an unruly faction, or deceived by the craft of ill-designing men. One or two ministers, most in his confidence, may *at first* have good intentions, but grow corrupted by time, by avarice, by love, by ambition, and have fairer terms offered them to gratify their passions or interests from *one set of men* than another, until they are too far involved for a retreat; and so be forced to take *seven spirits more wicked than themselves*. This is a very possible case; and will not *the last state of such men be worse than the first*? that is to say, will not the public, which was safe at first, grow in danger by such proceedings as these? And shall a faithful subject, who foresees and trembles at the consequences, be called *disaffected*, because he delivers his opinion, although the prince declares, as he justly may, that the danger is not owing to his administration? Or shall the prince himself be blamed, when, in such a juncture, he puts his affairs into other hands *with the universal applause of his people*? As to the vote against those who should affirm the church was in danger, I think it likewise referred to danger: from or under the Queen's administration, (for I neither have it by me, nor can suddenly have recourse to it); but if it were otherwise, I know not how it can refer to any dangers, but what were past, or at that time present; or how it could affect the future, unless the senators were all *inspired*, or at least that majority which voted it. Neither do I see it is any crime, farther than ill manners, to differ in opinion from a majority of either or both houses; and that ill manners, I must confess, I have been often guilty of for some years past, although I hope I never shall again.

Another topic of great use to these weekly inflamers is the young pretender in France, to whom their whole party is in a high measure indebted for all their greatness; and whenever it lies in their power, they may perhaps return their acknowledgments, as, out of their zeal for frequent *revolutions*, they were ready to do to his supposed father; which is a piece of *secret history*, that I hope will one day see the light; and I am sure it shall,

if ever I am master of it, without regarding *whose ears may tingle*. But at present the word *pretender* is a term of art in *their* profession. A secretary of state cannot *desire leave to resign*, but the pretender is at bottom; the Queen cannot dissolve a parliament, but it is a plot to dethrone herself and bring in the pretender; half a score stockjobbers are playing the knave in Exchange-alley, and there goes the pretender with a *sponge*. One would be apt to think, they bawl out the pretender so often to take off the terror; or tell so many lies about him to slacken our caution; that when he is really coming, *by their connivance*, we may not believe them; as the boy served the shepherds about the *coming of the wolf*: or perhaps they scare us with the pretender, because they think we may be like some diseases, that *come with a fright*. Do they not believe that the Queen's present ministry love her Majesty, at least as well as *some others* loved the *church*? And why is it not as great a mark of *disaffection* now, to say the *Queen is in danger*, as it was some months ago to affirm the same of the *church*? Suppose it be a false opinion, that the Queen's right is *hereditary* and *indefeasible*; yet how is it possible, that those who hold and believe such a doctrine, can be in the pretender's interest? His title is weakened by every argument that strengthens hers: it is as plain as the words of an act of parliament can make it, that her present Majesty is heir to the survivor of the late King and Queen her sister: is not that an *hereditary right*? What need we explain it any further? I have known an *article of faith* expounded in much looser and more general terms, and that by an author whose opinions are very much followed by a certain party*. Suppose we go further, and examine the word *indefeasible*, with which some writers of late have made themselves so merry: I confess, it is hard to conceive how any law which the supreme power makes, may not by the same power be repealed; so that I shall not determine, whether the Queen's right be *indefeasible*, or no. But this I will maintain, that whoever affirms it so, is not guilty of a crime; for in that settlement of the crown af-

* Dr Burnet, Bishop of Sarum.

ter the resolution, where her present Majesty is in remainder, there are (as near as I can remember) these remarkable words, *to which we bind ourselves and our posterity for ever*. Lawyers may explain this, or call them words of form as they please; and reasoners may argue, that such an obligation is against the very nature of government; but a plain reader, who takes the words in their natural meaning, may be excused in thinking a right so confirmed is *indefeasible*; and if there be an absurdity in such an opinion, he is not to answer for it.

P. S. When this paper was going to the press, the printer brought me two more *Observers*, wholly taken up in my *Examiner* upon lying, which I was at the pains to read; and they are just such an answer as the two others I have mentioned. This is all I have to say on that matter.

N^o 16. Thursday, November 23. 1710.

Qui sunt boni cives? qui belli, qui domi de patria benemerentes, nisi qui patriæ beneficia meminerunt?

I WILL employ this present paper upon a subject, which of late hath very much affected me, which I have considered with a good deal of application, and made several inquiries about among those persons, who, I thought, were best able to inform me; and if I deliver my sentiments with some freedom, I hope it will be forgiven, while I accompany it with that tenderness which so nice a point requires.

I said in a former paper [Num. 13.], that one specious objection to the late removals at court was the fear of giving uneasiness to a general who hath been long successful abroad; and accordingly the common clamour of tongues and pens for some months past hath run against the baseness, the inconstancy, and ingratitude of the whole kingdom to the Duke of Marlborough, in return of the most eminent services that ever were performed by a subject to
his

his country, not to be equalled in history: and then, to be sure, some bitter stroke of detraction against Alexander and Cæsar, who never did us the least injury. Besides, the people, who read Plutarch, come upon us with parallels drawn from the Greeks and Romans, who ungratefully dealt with I know not how many of their most deserving generals: while the profounder politicians have seen pamphlets, where Tacitus and Machiavel have been quoted to shew the danger of too resplendent a merit. If a stranger should hear these furious outcries of ingratitude against our general, without knowing the particulars, he would be apt to inquire, where was his tomb, or whether he were allowed Christian burial? not doubting but we had put him to some ignominious death. Or, hath he been tried for his life, and very narrowly escaped; hath he been accused of high crimes and misdemeanors; hath the prince seized on his estate, and left him to starve; hath he been hooted at, as he passed the streets, by an ungrateful rabble; have neither honours, offices, nor grants been conferred on him or his family; have not he and they been barbarously stripped of them all; have not he and his forces been ill paid abroad; and doth not the prince, by a scanty limited commission, hinder him from pursuing his own methods in the conduct of the war; hath he no power at all of disposing of commissions as he pleaseth; is he not severely used by the ministry or parliament, who yearly call him to a strict account; hath the senate ever thanked him for good success, and have they not always publicly censured him for the least miscarriage?—Will the accusers of the nation join issue upon any of these particulars, or tell us in what point our damnable sin of ingratitude lies?—Why, it is plain and clear; for while he is commanding abroad, the Queen dissolves her parliament, and changes her ministry at home; in which *universal calamity* no less than *two persons* allied by marriage to the general have lost their places. Whence came this wonderful sympathy between the civil and military powers? Will the troops in Flanders refuse to fight, unless they can have *their own* Lord Keeper, *their own* Lord President of the council, *their own* Chief Governor of Ireland, and *their own* parliament? In a kingdom where the people are free, how

how came they to be so fond of having their counsels under the influence of their army, or those that lead it? who, in all well-instituted states, had no commerce with the civil power, farther than to receive their orders, and obey them without reserve.

When a general is not so popular, either in his army or at home, as one might expect from a long course of success, it may perhaps be ascribed to his *wisdom*, or perhaps to his complexion. The possession of some one *quality*, or a defect in *some other*, will extremely damp the people's favour, as well as the love of the soldiers. Besides, this is not an age to produce favourites of the people, while we live under a Queen, who ingrosseth all our love and all our veneration; and where the only way for a great general or minister to acquire any degree of subordinate affection from the public, must be by all marks of the most *entire submission and respect* to her sacred person and commands; otherwise no pretence of great services, either in the field or the cabinet, will be able to screen them from universal hatred.

But the late ministry was closely joined to the general by friendship, interest, alliance, inclination, and opinion; which cannot be affirmed of the present: and the ingratitude of the nation lieth in the people's *joining as one man* to wish that such a ministry should be changed. Is it not at the same time notorious to the whole kingdom, that nothing but a tender regard to the general was able to preserve that ministry so long, until neither God nor man could suffer their continuance? Yet, in the highest ferment of things, we heard few or no reflections upon this great commander; but all seemed unanimous in wishing, he might still be at the head of the confederate forces; only at the same time, in case he were resolved to resign, they chose rather to turn their thoughts somewhere else than throw up all in despair. And this I cannot but add, in defence of the people with regard to the person we are speaking of, that in the high station he hath been for many years past, his *real defects* (as nothing human is without them) have in a detracting age been very sparingly mentioned either in libels or conversation, and all his *successes* very freely and universally applauded.

There

There is an active and a passive ingratitude. Applying both to this occasion, we may say, the first is when a prince or people returns good services with cruelty or ill usage; the other is, when good services are not at all, or very meanly rewarded. We have already spoken of the former; let us therefore, in the second place, examine, how the services of our general have been rewarded; and whether upon that article either prince or people have been guilty of ingratitude?

Those are the most valuable rewards which are given to us from the certain knowledge of the donor, that they *fit our temper best*: I shall therefore say nothing of the title of *Duke*, or the *Garter*, which the Queen bestowed upon the general in the beginning of her reign; but I shall come to *more substantial instances*, and mention nothing, which hath not been given in the face of the world. The lands of Woodstock may, I believe, be reckoned worth 40,000 *l.*; on the building of Blenheim castle, 200,000 *l.* have been already expended, although it be not yet near finished; the grant of 5000 *l. per annum* on the post-office is richly worth 100,000 *l.*; his principality in Germany may be computed at 30,000 *l.*; pictures, jewels, and other gifts from foreign princes, 60,000 *l.*; the grant at the Pall-mall, the rangerhip, &c. for want of more certain knowledge, may be called 10,000 *l.*; his own and his Duchess's employments at five years value, reckoning only the known and avowed salaries, are very low rated at 100,000 *l.* Here is a good deal above half a million of money; and, I dare say, those who are loudest with the clamour of ingratitude, will readily own, that all this is but a trifle, in comparison of what is *untold*.

The reason of my stating this account is only to convince the world, that we are not quite so ungrateful either as the Greeks or the Romans; and in order to adjust this matter with all fairness, I shall confine myself to the latter, who were much the more generous of the two. A victorious general of Rome, in the height of that empire, having *entirely subdued his enemies*, was rewarded with the larger triumph, and perhaps a statue in the Forum, a bull for a sacrifice, an embroidered garment to appear in, a crown of laurel, a monumental trophy with inscriptions, sometimes

sometimes five hundred or a thousand copper coins were struck on occasion of the victory, which, doing honour to the general, we will place to his account; and lastly, sometimes, although not very frequently, a triumphal arch. These are all the rewards, that I can call to mind, which a victorious general received after his return from the most glorious expedition; having conquered some great kingdom, brought the king himself, his family, and nobles, to adorn the triumph in chains; and made the kingdom either a Roman province, or at best a poor depending state in humble alliance to that empire. Now, of all these rewards I find but two, which were of real profit to the general, the *laurel crown*, made and sent him at the charge of the public, and the *embroidered garment*; but I cannot find, whether this last was paid for by the senate or the general; however, we will take the more favourable opinion; and in all the rest admit the whole expense, as if it were ready money in the general's pocket. Now, according to these computations on both sides, we will draw up two fair accounts; the one of Roman gratitude, and the other of British ingratitude, and set them together in balance.

A bill

*A bill of ROMAN grati-
tude.*

<i>Imprim.</i>	<i>L.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
For frank- incense and earthen pots to burn it in	4	10	0
A bull for sacrifice	8	0	1
An embroi- dered gar- ment	50	0	0
A crown of laurel	0	0	2
A statue	100	0	0
A trophy	80	0	0
A thousand copper me- dals, value halfpence a piece	2	1	8
A trium- phal arch	500	0	0
A trium- phal car, va- lued as a mo- dern coach	100	0	0
Casual charges at the triumph	150	0	0.
	994 11 10		

*A bill of BRITISH ingra-
titude.*

<i>Imprim.</i>	<i>L.</i>
Woodstock	40000
Blenheim	200000
Post-office grant	100000
Mildenheim	30000
Pictures, jew- els, &c.	60000
Pall-Mall grant, &c.	10000
Employments	100000
	540000

This is an account of the visible profits on both sides ; and if the Roman general had any *private perquisites*, they may be easily discounted, and by more probable computa-
tions ; and differ yet more upon the balance, if we consi-
der, that all the gold and silver for *safeguards* and
contributions, also all *valuable prizes* taken in the
war,

war, were openly exposed in the triumph, and then lodged in the capitol for the public service.

So that, upon the whole, we are not yet quite so bad at *worst*, as the Romans were at *best*. And I doubt, those who raise this hideous cry of ingratitude, may be mightily mistaken in the consequence they propose from such complaints. I remember a saying of Seneca, *Multos ingratos invenimus, plures facimus*; We find many ungrateful persons in the world, but we make more, by setting too high a rate upon our pretensions, and undervaluing the rewards we receive. When unreasonable bills are brought in, they ought to be taxed, or cut off in the middle. Where there have been long accounts between two persons, I have known one of them perpetually making large demands, and pressing for payments; who, when the accounts were cast up on both sides, was found to be debtor for some hundreds. I am thinking, if a proclamation were issued out for every man to send in his *bill of merits*, and the lowest price he set them at, what a pretty sum it would amount to, and how many such islands as this must be sold to pay them. I form my judgment from the practice of those who sometimes happen to *pay themselves*, and, I dare affirm, would not be so unjust to take a farthing more, than they think is due to their deserts. I will instance only in one article: A lady * of my acquaintance appropriated twenty-six pounds a-year out of her allowance for certain uses, which her woman received †, and was to pay to the lady or her order,

* Supposed to be her late Majesty Q. Anne.

† The matter was this. At the Queen's accession to the government, she used to lament to me, that the crown being impoverished by former grants, she wanted the power her predecessors had enjoyed to reward faithful servants; and she desired me to take out of the privy purse 2000 l. a year, in order to purchase for my advantage. As her Majesty was so good to provide for my children, and as the offices I enjoyed by her favour brought me in more than I wanted, I constantly declined it, till the time she was pleased to dismiss me from her service. Then indeed I sent the Queen one of her own letters, in which she had pressed me to take the 2000 l. a-year; and I wrote at the same time to ask her Majesty, whether she would allow me to charge in the privy-purse accounts, which I was to send her, that yearly sum from the time of the offer, amounting to 18,000 l.

order, as it was called for. But after eight years it appeared upon the strictest calculation, that the woman had paid but four pounds a-year, and sunk two and twenty for her own pocket. It is but supposing, instead of twenty-six pounds, twenty-six thousand; and by that you may judge, what the pretensions of *modern merit* are, where it happens to be its own paymaster.

N^o 17. Thursday, November 30. 1710.

Quas res luxuries in flagitiis, avaritia in rapinis, superbia in contumeliis efficere potuisset; eas omnes sese, hoc uno pratore per triennium, pertulisse aiebant.

When I first undertook this paper, I was resolved to concern myself only with *things*, and not with *persons*. Whether I have kept or broken this resolution, I cannot recollect; and I will not be at the pains to examine, but leave the matter to those little antagonists, who may want a topic for criticism. Thus much I have discovered, that it is in writing as in building; where, after all our schemes and calculations, we are mightily deceived in our accounts, and often forced to make use of any materials we can find, that the work may be kept a-going. Besides, to speak my opinion, the *things* I have occasion to mention are so closely linked to *persons*, that nothing but *time* (the father of *oblivion*) can separate them. Let me put a parallel case: suppose I should complain, that last week my coach was within an inch of overturning in a smooth even way, and drawn by very gentle horses; to be sure all my friends would immediately lay the fault upon John, because he knew he then *presided* in my coach-box. Again, suppose I should discover some uneasiness to find myself, I knew not how, over

Her Majesty was pleased to answer, I might charge it. This therefore I did. *Account of the conduct of the dowager Duchess of Marlborough*, p. 294. 295. Hawkes.

head

head and ears in debt, although I were sure my tenants paid their rents very well, and that I never spent half my income; they would certainly advise me to turn off Mr Oldfox * my *receiver*, and take another. If, as a justice of peace, I should tell a friend, that my *warrants* and *mittimus*es were never drawn up as I would have them; that I had the misfortune to send an honest man to gaol and dismiss a knave; he would bid me no longer trust Charles and Harry †, my two clerks, whom he knew to be ignorant, wilful, assuming, and ill-inclined fellows. If I should add, that my tenants made me very uneasy with their squabbles and broils among themselves; he would counsel me to cashier Will Bigamy ‡, the *seneschal* of my manor. And lastly, if my neighbour and I happened to have a misunderstanding about the *delivery of a message*, what could I do less than strip and discard the *blundering or malicious* rascal who carried it?

It is the same thing in the conduct of public affairs, where they have been managed with rashness or wilfulness, corruption, ignorance, or injustice. Barely to relate the facts, at least while they are fresh in memory, will as much reflect upon the *persons* concerned, as if we had told their names at length.

I have therefore since thought of another expedient, frequently practised with great safety and success by satirical writers; which is that of looking into history for some character bearing a resemblance to the person we would describe: and with the absolute power of altering, adding, or suppressing what circumstances we please, I conceive we must have very bad luck, or very little skill, to fail. However, some days ago in a coffeehouse looking into one of the politic weekly papers, I found the writer had fallen into this scheme; and I happened to light on that part, where he was describing a person, who from small beginnings grew (as I remember) to be constable of France, and had a very *haughty imperious wife*. I took

* Lord Godolphin.

† Earl of Sunderland, and Henry Boyle, Esq; were at this time Secretaries of State.

‡ Lord Chancellor Cowper.

the author for a friend to our *faction* (for so, with great propriety of speech, they call the Queen and ministry, almost the whole clergy, and nine parts in ten of the kingdom); and I said to a gentleman near me, that although I knew well enough what persons the author meant, yet there were several particulars in the *husband's* character, which I could not reconcile; for that of the *Lady*, it was just and adequate enough. But it seems I mistook the whole matter, and applied all I had read to a couple of persons, who were not at that time in the writer's thoughts.

Now, to avoid such a misfortune as this, I have been for some time consulting Livy and Tacitus to find out the character of a *princeps senatus*, a *prætor urbanus*, a *quæstor ærarius*, a *Cæsari ab epistolis*, and a *proconsul*: but among the worst of them I cannot discover one, from whom to draw a parallel without doing injury to a Roman memory: so that I am compelled to have recourse to Tully. But this author, relating facts only as an orator, I thought it would be best to observe his method, and make an extract from six harangues of his against Verres, only still preserving the form of an oration. I remember a younger brother of mine, who deceased about two months ago, presented the world with a speech of Alcibiades against an Athenian brewer. Now, I am told for certain, that in those days there was no ale in Athens; therefore that speech, or at least a great part of it, must needs be spurious. The difference between my brother and me is this; he makes Alcibiades say a great deal more than he really did, and I make Cicero say a great deal less. This Verres * had been the *Roman* governor of Sicily for three years; and, on his return from his government, the Sicilians intreated Cicero to impeach him in the senate; which he accordingly did in several orations, from whence I have faithfully translated and abstracted that which follows.

“ MY LORDS,

“ A pernicious opinion hath for some time prevailed,

* Earl of Wharton, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

“ not

“ not only at Rome, but among our neighbouring na-
“ tions, that a man who hath money enough, although
“ he be ever so guilty, cannot be condemned in this place.
“ But, however industriously this opinion be spread to cast
“ an odium on the senate, we have brought before your
“ Lordships Caius Verres, a person for his life and actions
“ already condemned by all men: but, as he hopes and
“ gives out, by the influence of his wealth to be here ab-
“ solved; in condemning this man you have an opportu-
“ nity of belying that general scandal, of redeeming the
“ *credit lost by former judgments*, and recovering the
“ love of the Roman people, as well as of our neighbours.
“ I have brought here a man before you, my Lords, who
“ is a robber of the public treasure, an overturner of law
“ and justice, and the disgrace as well as destruction of
“ the Sicilian province; of whom if you shall determine
“ with equity and due severity, your authority will remain
“ entire, and upon such an establishment as it ought to be:
“ but if his great riches will be able to force their way
“ through that religious reverence and truth, which become
“ so awful an assembly; I shall however obtain thus much,
“ that the defect will be laid where it ought; and that
“ it shall not be objected, that the criminal was not pro-
“ duced, or that there wanted an orator to accuse him.
“ This man, my Lords, hath publicly said, that those
“ ought to be afraid of accusations, who have only robbed
“ enough for their own support and maintenance; but
“ that he hath plundered sufficient to bribe numbers;
“ and that nothing is so high or so holy, which money
“ cannot corrupt. Take that support from him, and he
“ can have no other left: for what eloquence will be able
“ to defend a man, whose life hath been tainted with so
“ many scandalous vices, and who hath been so long con-
“ demned by the universal opinion of the world? To
“ pass over the foul stains and ignominy of his youth, his
“ corrupt management in all employments he hath borne,
“ his treachery and irreligion, his injustice and oppression;
“ he hath left of late such monuments of his villanies in
“ Sicily, made such havock and confusion there, during
“ his government, that the province cannot by any means
“ be restored to its former state, and hardly recover it-

“ self at all under many years, and by a long succession
 “ of good governors. While this man governed in that
 “ island, the Sicilians had neither the benefit of our laws
 “ nor their own, nor even of common right. In Sicily no
 “ man now possesses more, than what the governor’s lust
 “ and avarice have overlooked, or what he was forced to
 “ neglect out of mere weariness and satiety of oppression.
 “ Every thing, where he presided, was determined by
 “ his arbitrary will; and the best subjects he treated as
 “ enemies. To recount his abominable debaucheries
 “ would offend any modest ear, since so many could not
 “ preserve their daughters and wives from his lust. I
 “ believe there is no man, who ever heard his name, that
 “ cannot relate his enormities. We bring before you in
 “ judgment, my Lords, a public robber, an adulterer, a
 “ DEFILER OF ALTARS*, an enemy of religion and of
 “ all that is sacred. In Sicily he sold all employments
 “ of judicature, magistracy, and trust, places in the coun-
 “ cil, and the *priesthood* itself, to the highest bidder; and
 “ hath plundered that island of forty millions of sesterces.
 “ And here I cannot but observe to your Lordships, in
 “ what manner Verres passed the day: the morning was
 “ spent in taking bribes and selling employments; the
 “ rest of it in drunkenness and lust. His discourse at ta-
 “ ble was scandalously unbecoming the dignity of his sta-
 “ tion; noise, brutality, and obscenity. One particu-
 “ lar I cannot omit; that in the high character of gover-
 “ nor of Sicily, upon a solemn day, a day set apart for
 “ public prayer for the safety of the commonwealth, he
 “ stole at evening in a chair to a married woman of in-
 “ famous character, against all decency and prudence, as
 “ well as against all laws both human and divine. Didst
 “ thou think, O Verres! the government of Sicily was
 “ given thee with so large a commission, only, by the
 “ power of that, to break all the bars of law, modesty,
 “ and duty; to suppose all mens fortunes thine, and
 “ leave no house free from thy rapine and lust?” &c.

* The story of the Lord Wharton is true; who, with some other wretches, went into a pulpit, and defiled it in the most filthy manner.

This extract, to deal ingenuously, hath cost me more pains, than I think it is worth; having only served to convince me, that modern corruptions are not to be paralleled by ancient examples, without having recourse to poetry or fable. For instance, I never read in story of a law enacted to take away the force of all laws whatsoever; by which a man may safely commit, upon the last of June, what he would infallibly be hanged for if he committed on the first of July; by which the greatest criminals may escape, provided they continue long enough in power to antiquate their crimes, and by stifling them a while can deceive the legislature into an *amnesty*, of which the enactors do not at that time foresee the consequence. A cautious merchant will be apt to suspect, when he finds a man who has the repute of a cunning dealer, and with whom he hath old accounts, urging for a general release. When I reflect on this proceeding, I am not surpris'd that those who contrived a parliamentary *sponge* for their crimes, are now afraid of a new revolution *sponge* for their money: and if it were possible to contrive a *sponge* that could only affect those who had need of the other, perhaps it would not be ill employed.

No 18. Thursday, December 9. 1710.

*Quippe ubi fas versum atque nefas; tot bella per orbem;
Tam multe scelerum facies.* —————

I AM often violently tempted to let the world freely know, who the author of this paper is; to tell them my name and titles at length; which would prevent abundance of inconsistent criticisms I daily hear upon it. Those who are enemies to the notions and opinions I would advance, are sometimes apt to quarrel with the *Examiner* as defective in point of wit, and sometimes of truth. At other times they are so generous and candid to allow, it is written by a club, and that very great *hands* have *fingers* in it. As for those who only appear its adversaries in print,

print, they give me but very little pain. The paper I hold, lies at my mercy, and I can govern it as I please ; therefore, when I begin to find the wit too bright, the learning too deep, and the satire too keen for me to deal with, (a very frequent case, no doubt, where a man is constantly attacked by such shrewd adversaries), I peaceably fold it up, or fling it aside, and read no more. It would be happy for me to have the same power over people's tongues, and not be forced to hear my own work railed at, and commended, fifty times a-day ; affecting all the while a countenance wholly unconcerned, and joining out of policy or good manners with the judgment of both parties : this, I confess, is too great a hardship for so bashful and unexperienced a writer.

But, alas, I lie under another discouragement of much more weight. I was very unfortunate in the choice of my party, when I set up to be a writer. Where is the merit, or what opportunity to discover our wit, our courage, or our learning, in drawing our pens for the defence of a cause, which the Queen and both houses of parliament, and nine parts in ten of the kingdom, have so unanimously embraced ? I am cruelly afraid, we politic authors must begin to lessen our expenses, and lie for the future at the mercy of our printers. All hopes are now gone of writing ourselves into places or pensions. A certain starveling author, who *worked* under the late administration, told me with a heavy heart above a month ago, that he, and some others of his brethren, had secretly offered their service dog-cheap, to the present ministry, but were all refused ; and are now maintained by contribution, like *Jacobites* or *fanatics*. I have been of late employed out of perfect commiseration, in doing them good offices : for whereas some were of opinion, that those hungry zealots should not be suffered any longer in their malapert way to snarl at the present course of public proceedings ; and whereas others proposed, that they should be limited to a certain number, and permitted to write for their *masters*, in the same manner as counsel are assigned for other criminals, that is, to say all they can in defence of their client, but not reflect upon the court ; I humbly gave my advice, that they should be suffered to write on, as they used to do ;

do ; which I did purely out of regard to their persons ; for I hoped it would keep them out of harm's way, and prevent them from falling into evil courses ; which, although of little consequence to the public, would certainly be *fatal to themselves*. If I have room at the bottom of this paper, I will transcribe a petition to the present ministry, sent me by one of these authors in behalf of himself and fourscore of his brethren.

For my own part, notwithstanding the little encouragement to be hoped for at this time from the men in power, I shall continue my paper, till either the world or myself grow weary of it : the latter is easily determined ; and for the former, I shall not leave it to the partiality of either party, but to the infallible judgment of my printer. One principal end I designed by it, was to undeceive those well-meaning people, who have been drawn unawares into a wrong sense of things either by the common prejudices of education and company, the great personal qualities of some party-leaders, or the foul misrepresentations that were constantly made of all who durst differ from them in the smallest article. I have known such men struck with the thoughts of some late changes, which, as they pretend to think, were made without any reason visible to the world. In answer to this, it is not sufficient to alledge, what nobody doubts, that a good and wise prince may be allowed to change his ministers without giving a reason to his subjects ; because it is probable, that he will not make such a change without very important reasons ; and a good subject ought to suppose, that in such a case there are such reasons, although he be not apprised of them ; otherwise he must inwardly tax his prince of capriciousness, inconstancy, or ill design. Such reasons indeed may not be obvious to persons prejudiced, or at a great distance, or short thinkers ; and therefore if they be no secrets of state, nor any ill consequences to be apprehended from their publication, it is no uncommendable work in any private hand to lay them open for the satisfaction of all men. And, if what I have already said, or shall hereafter say, of this kind, be thought to reflect upon *persons*, although none have been named, I know not how it can possibly be avoided. The Queen in her speech
mentions

mentions *with great concern*, that “ the navy and other
“ offices are burthened with heavy debts; and desires,
“ that the like may be prevented for the time to come.”
And, if it be *now* possible to prevent the continuance of
an evil, that hath been so long growing upon us, and is
arrived to such a height; surely those corruptions and mis-
managements must have been great, which first introdu-
ced them, before our taxes were eaten up by annuities.

If I were able to rip up and discover, in all their co-
lours, only about eight or nine thousand of the most scanda-
lous abuses that have been committed in all parts of public
management for twenty years past by a certain set of men
and their instruments, I should reckon it some service to
my country and posterity. But to say the truth, I should
be glad the authors names were conveyed to future times
along with their actions. For although the present age
may understand well enough the little hints we give, the
parallels we draw, and the characters we describe; yet all
this will be lost to the next. However, if these papers,
reduced into a more durable form, should happen to live
till our grandchildren be men, I hope they may have curi-
osity enough to consult annals and compare dates, in order
to find out, what names were then intrusted with the con-
duct of affairs, in the consequences whereof themselves
will so deeply share; like a heavy debt in a private fami-
ly, which often lies an incumbrance upon an estate for
three generations.

But leaving the care of informing posterity to better
pens, I shall, with due regard to truth, discretion, and
the safety of my person from the men of *the new-fangled
moderation*, continue to take all proper opportunities of
letting the misled part of the people see, how grossly they
have been abused, and in what particulars. I shall also
endeavour to convince them, that the present course we
are in is the most probable means, with the blessing of
God, to extricate ourselves out of all our difficulties.

Among those who are pleased to write or talk against
this paper, I have observed a strange manner of reason-
ing, which I should be glad to hear them explain them-
selves upon. They make no ceremony of exclaiming up-
on all occasions against a change of ministry in so critical
and

and dangerous a conjuncture. What shall we, who heartily approve and join in those proceedings, say in defence of them? We own the juncture of affairs to be as they describe: we are pushed for an answer; and are forced at last freely to confess, that the corruptions and abuses in every branch of the administration were so numerous and intolerable, that all things must have ended in ruin without some speedy reformation. This I have already asserted in a former paper; and the replies I have read, or heard, have been in plain terms to affirm the direct contrary; and not only to defend and celebrate the late persons and proceedings, but to threaten me with law and vengeance for casting reflections on so many great and honourable men, whose *birth, virtue, and abilities, whose morals and religion, whose love of their country, and its constitution in church and state*, were so universally allowed; and all this set off with odious comparisons, reflecting on the present choice: is not this in plain and direct terms to tell all the world, that the Queen hath, in a most dangerous crisis, turned out a whole set of the best ministers, that ever served a prince, without any manner of reason, but her royal pleasure, and brought in others of a character directly contrary? And how so vile an opinion as this can consist with the least pretence to loyalty or good manners, let the world determine. ●

I confess myself so little a refiner in politics, as not to be able to discover what other motive, besides obedience to the Queen, a sense of public danger, and a true love of their country, joined with invincible courage, could spirit up those great men, who have now under her Majesty's authority undertaken the direction of affairs. What can they expect, but the utmost efforts of malice, from a set of enraged domestic adversaries, perpetually watching over their conduct, crossing all their designs, and using every art to foment divisions among them, in order to join with the weakest, upon any rupture? The difficulties they must encounter are nine times more and greater than ever; and the prospects of interest, after the *reapings and gleanings* of so many years, nine times less. Every misfortune at home or abroad, although the necessary consequence of former counsels, will be imputed to them;

them ; and all the good success given to the merit of former schemes. A sharper hath held your cards all the evening, played booty, and lost your money ; and, when things are almost desperate, you employ an honest gentleman to retrieve your losses.

I would ask, whether the Queen's speech doth not contain her intentions in every particular relating to the public, that a good subject, a Briton, and a Protestant can possibly have at heart ? " To carry on the war in all its parts, " particularly in Spain, with the utmost vigour, in order " to procure a safe and honourable peace for us and our " allies ; to find some ways of paying the debts of the " navy ; to support and encourage the church of England ; to preserve the British constitution according to " the union ; to maintain the indulgence by law allowed " to scrupulous consciences ; and to employ none but such " as are for the Protestant succession in the house of Hanover." It is known enough, that speeches on these occasions are ever digested by the advice of those who are in the chief confidence ; and consequently, that these are the sentiments of her Majesty's ministers, as well as her own ; and we see the two houses have unanimously agreed with her in every article. When the least counterpoises are made to any of these resolutions, it will then be time enough for our malecontents to bawl out *Popery, persecution, arbitrary power, and the pretender*. In the meanwhile, it is a little hard to think, that this island can hold but six men of honesty and ability enough to serve their prince and country ; or that our safety should depend upon their credit, any more than it would upon the breath in their nostrils. Why should not a *revolution* in the ministry be sometimes necessary, as well as a *revolution* in the crown ? It is to be presumed, the former is at least as lawful in itself, and perhaps the experiment not quite so dangerous. The *revolution* of the *sun* about the *earth* was formerly thought a necessary expedient to solve appearances, although it left many difficulties unanswered ; until philosophers contrived a better, which is that of the *earth's revolution* about the *sun*. This is found upon experience to save much time and labour, to correct many irregular

irregular motions, and is better suited to the respect due from a *planet* to a *fixed star*.

N^o 19. Thursday, December 14. 1710.

*Sunt quibus in satira videar nimis acer, et ultra
Legem tendere opus: sine nervis altera quicquid
Composui pars esse putat*—————

WHen the printer came last week for his copy, he brought along with him a bundle of those papers, which, in the phrase of *Whig coffeehouses*, have *swinged off the Examiner*; most of which I had never seen or heard of before. I remember some time ago in one of the *Tatlers* to have read a letter, wherein several reasons are assigned for the present corruption and degeneracy of our taste; but I think the writer hath omitted the principal one, which I take to be the prejudice of parties. Neither can I excuse either side of this infirmity: I have heard the arrantest drivellers *pro* and *con* commended for their shrewdness, even by men of tolerable judgment; and the best performances exploded as nonsense and stupidity. This indeed may partly be imputed to policy and prudence; but it is chiefly owing to that blindness, which prejudice and passions cast over the understanding: I mention this because I think it properly within my province in quality of *Examiner*. And, having granted more than is usual for an enemy to do, I must now take leave to say, that so weak a *cause*, and so ruined a *faction*, were never provided with pens more resembling their condition, or less suited to their occasions.

*Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis,
Tempus eget*—————

This is the more to be wondered at, when we consider, they have the full liberty of the press; that they have no other way left to recover themselves; and that they want not men of excellent parts to set their arguments in

the best light they will bear. Now, if two men would argue on both sides with fairness, good sense, and good manners, it would be no ill entertainment to the town, and perhaps be the most effectual means to reconcile us. But I am apt to think, that men of great genius are hardly brought to prostitute their pens in a very odious *cause*; which besides is more properly undertaken by noise and impudence, by gross railing and scurrility, by calumny and lying, and by little trifling cavils and carplings in the wrong place, which those *whifflers* use for arguments and answers.

I was well enough pleased with a story of one of these answerers, who in a paper last week found many faults with a late calculation of mine. Being, it seems, more deeply learned than his fellows, he was resolved to begin his answer with a Latin verse, as well as other folks. His business was to look out for something against an *Examiner*, that would pretend to *tax* accounts; and turning over Virgil he had the luck to find these words,

—————*fugiant examina taxos:*

So down they went, and out they would have come, if one of his unlucky *prompters* had not hindered it.

I here declare, once for all, that if these people will not be quiet, I shall take the bread out of their mouths, and answer the *Examiner* myself; which I protest I have never yet done, although I have been often charged with it; neither have those answers been written or published with my privity, as malicious people are pleased to give out; nor do I believe the common *Whiggish* report, that the authors are hired by the ministry to give my paper a value.

But the friends of this paper have given me more uneasiness with their impatience, than its enemies by their answers. I heard myself censured last week by some of the former for promising to discover the corruptions of the late administration, but never performing any thing. The latter, on the other side, are thundering out their *anathemas* against me for discovering so many. I am at a loss how to decide between these contraries, and shall therefore proceed after my own way, as I have hitherto done;

done; my design being of more importance, than that of writing only to gratify the spleen of one side, or provoke that of the other, although it may occasionally have both effects.

I shall therefore go on to relate some facts, that, in my humble opinion, were no hinderance to the change of the ministry.

The first I shall mention, was that of introducing certain new phrases into the court-style, which had been very seldom, or never, made use of in former times. They usually run in the following terms. "Madam, I cannot serve you while such a one is in employment. I desire, humbly, to resign my commission, if Mr — continues secretary of state. I cannot answer that the city will lend money, unless my L^d — be President of the council. I must beg leave to surrender, except — has the staff. I must not accept the seals, unless — comes into the other office." This hath been the language of late years from subjects to their prince. Thus they stood upon terms, and must have their own conditions to ruin the nation. Nay, this dutiful manner of capitulating had spread so far, that every understrapper began at length to perk up and assume; he *expected* a regiment; or *his son must be a major*; or *his brother a collector*; else he threatened to *vote according to his conscience*.

Another of their glorious attempts was the clause intended in the bill *for the encouragement of learning*, by taking off the obligation upon fellows of colleges in both universities to enter upon holy orders: the design of which, as I have heard the undertakers often confess, was to remove the care of educating youth out of the hands of the clergy, who are apt to infuse into their pupils too great a regard for the church and the monarchy. But there was a farther secret in this clause, which may best be discovered by the first projectors, or at least the *garblers* of it; and these are known to be Colins and Tindal, in conjunction with a most *pious lawyer*, their disciple.

What shall we say to their prodigious skill in *arithmetic*, discovered so constantly in their decision of elections; where they were able to make out by the *rule of false*,

that *three* were more than *three and twenty*, and *fifteen* than *fifty*? Nay, it was a maxim, which I never heard any of them dispute, That in determining elections they were not to consider where the right lay, but which of the *candidates* was likelier to be true to the *cause*. This they used to illustrate by a very apt and decent similitude of gaming with a sharper; if you cannot cheat as well as he, you are certainly undone.

Another cast of their politics was that of endeavouring to impeach an innocent lady *, for no reason imaginable, but her faithful and diligent service to the Queen, and the favour her Majesty bore to her upon that account, when others had acted contrary in so shameful a manner. What else was the crime? Had she *treated her royal mistress with insolence or neglect*? Had she *enriched herself by a long practice of bribery, and obtaining exorbitant grants*? Had she *ingrossed her Majesty's favours, without admitting any access but through her means*? Had she *beaped employments upon herself, her family, and dependents*? Had she *an imperious haughty behaviour*? Or, after all, was it a perfect blunder, and mistake of *one person for another*? I have heard of a man, who lay all night on a rough pavement, and in the morning wondering what it could possibly be that made him rest so ill, happening to see a feather under him, imputed the uneasiness of his lodging to that. I remember likewise the story of a giant in *Rabelais*, who used to feed upon *wind-mills*; but was unfortunately choaked with a small lump of *fresh butter* before a warm oven.

And here I cannot but observe, how very refined some people are in their generosity and gratitude. There is a certain great person (I shall not say of what sex) who for many years past was the constant mark and butt, against which our present malecontents used to discharge their resentment; upon whom they bestowed all the terms of scurrility, that malice, envy, and indignation could invent; whom they publicly accused of every vice that can possess a human heart; pride, covetousness, ingratitude, oppression, treachery, dissimulation, violence, and fury, all in the highest extremes: but of late they have changed

* The Lady Masham.

their

their language on a sudden; that person is now the most faithful and just, that ever served a prince; that person, originally differing from them in principles as far as east from west, but united in practice, and falling together, they are now reconciled, and find twenty resemblances between each other, which they could never discover before. *Tanti est, ut placeam tibi perire!*

But to return: How could it be longer suffered in a free nation, that all avenues to preferment should be shut up, except a very few; when one or two stood constant *centry*, who doctored all favours they handed down, or spread a huge invisible net between the prince and subject, through which nothing of value could pass? And here I cannot but admire at one consequence from this management, which is of an extraordinary nature. Generally speaking, princes, who have ill ministers, are apt to suffer in their reputation, as well as in the love of the people: but it was not so with the Queen. When the sun is overcast by those clouds he exhales from the earth, we still acknowledge his light and influence, and at last find he can dispel, and drive them down to the horizon. The wisest prince by the necessity of affairs, the misrepresentations of designing men, or the innocent mistakes even of a good predecessor, may find himself encompassed by a crew of courtiers, whom time, opportunity, and success, have miserably corrupted: and if he can save himself and his people from ruin under the *worst* administration, what may not his subjects hope for, when with their universal applause he changeth hands, and maketh use of the *best*?

Another great objection with me against the late party was the cruel tyranny they put upon *conscience* by a *barbarous inquisition*, refusing to admit the least *toleration* or *indulgence*. They imposed an hundred *tests*; but could never be prevailed on to *dispense* with, or *take off* the smallest, or even to admit of *occasional conformity*; but went on daily (as their apostle Tindal expresseth it) *narrowing their terms of communion*, pronouncing nine parts in ten of the kingdom *heretics*, and shutting them out of the pale of their church. These very men, who talk so much of a *comprehension in religion* among us, how

came they to allow so little of it in *politics*, which is *their sole religion*? You shall hear them pretending to bewail the animosities kept up between the church of England and dissenters, where the differences in opinion are so few and inconsiderable; yet these very sons of *moderation* were pleased to *excommunicate* every man who disagreed with them in the *smallest article* of their *political creed*, or who refused to receive any new *article*, how difficult soever to digest, which the leaders imposed at pleasure to serve their own interest.

I will quit this subject for the present, when I have told one story. "There was a great king in Scythia, whose dominions were bounded on the north by the poor mountainous territories of a petty lord, who paid homage, as the king's vassal. The Scythian prime minister, being largely *bribed*, indirectly obtained his master's consent to suffer this lord to build forts, and provide himself with arms, under pretence of preventing the inroads of the Tartars. This little depending sovereign, finding he was now in a condition to be troublesome, began to insist upon terms, and threatened upon every occasion to unite with the Tartars: upon which the prime minister, who began to be in pain about his *head*, proposed a *match* betwixt his master, and the only daughter of this tributary lord, which he had the good luck to bring to pass; and from that time valued himself as author of a most glorious *union*, which indeed was grown of absolute necessity by his corruption." This passage, cited literally from an old history of Sarmatia, I thought fit to set down on purpose to perplex little smattering remarkers, and put them upon the hunt for an application.

N^o 20. Thursday, December 21. 1710.

—*pugnacem scirent sapiente minorem.*

I AM very much at a loss how to proceed upon the subject intended in this paper, which a new incident hath
led

led me to engage in. The subject I mean, is that of *soldiers* and the *army*; but being a matter wholly out of my trade, I shall handle it in as cautious a manner as I am able.

It is certain, that the art of war hath suffered great changes almost in every age and country of the world; however, there are some maxims relating to it, that will be eternal truths, and which every reasonable man must allow.

In the early times of Greece and Rome, the armies of those states were composed of their citizens, who took no pay, because the quarrel was their own; and therefore the war was usually decided in one campaign; or, if it lasted longer, yet in winter the soldiers returned to their several callings, and were not distinguished from the rest of the people. The Gothic governments in Europe, although they were of military institution, yet observed almost the same method. I shall instance only here in England: Those who held lands *in capite* of the King, were obliged to attend him in his wars with a certain number of men, who all held lands from them at easy rents on that condition. These fought without pay; and, when the service was over, returned again to their farms. It is recorded of William Rufus, that being absent in Normandy, and engaged in a war with his brother, he ordered twenty thousand men to be raised, and sent over from hence to supply his army; but having struck up a peace before they were embarked, he gave them leave to disband, upon condition they would pay him ten shillings a-man, which amounted to a mighty sum in those days.

Consider a kingdom as a great family, whereof the prince is the father, and it will appear plainly, that mercenary troops are only *servants armed* either to awe the *children* at home, or else to defend from invaders the family, who are otherwise employed, and chuse to contribute out of their stock for paying their defenders, rather than leave their affairs to be neglected in their absence. The art of making soldiery a trade, and keeping armies in pay, seems in Europe to have had two originals: the first was *usurpation*; when popular men destroyed the liberties of their country, and seized the power into their own hands, which they

they were forced to maintain by hiring guards to bridle the people. Such were anciently the *tyrants* in most of the small states of Greece; and such were those in several parts of Italy about three or four centuries ago, as Machiavel informs us. The other original of mercenary armies seems to have risen from larger kingdoms, or commonwealths, which had subdued provinces at a distance, and were forced to maintain troops upon them to prevent insurrections from the natives. Of this sort were Macedon, Carthage, and Rome of old; Venice and Holland at this day, as well as most kingdoms of Europe. So that mercenary forces in a free state, whether *monarchy* or *commonwealth*, seem only necessary either for preserving their conquests (which in such governments it is not prudent to extend too far), or else for maintaining war at a distance.

In this last, which at present is our most important case, there are certain *maxims*, that all wise governments have observed.

The first I shall mention is, That no *private* man should have a commission to be *general for life*, let his merit and services be ever so great. Or, if a prince be unadvisedly brought to offer such a commission in one hand, let him (to save time and blood) deliver up his *crown* with the other. The Romans, in the height and perfection of their government, usually sent out one of the new *consuls* to be general against their most formidable enemy, and recalled the old one; who often returned before the next election, and, according as he had merit, was sent to command in some other part; which perhaps was continued to him for a second, and sometimes a third year. But if Paulus Æmilius, or Scipio himself, had presumed to move the *senate* to continue their *commissions for life*, they would certainly have fallen a sacrifice to the jealousy of the people. Cæsar indeed (between whom and a certain general, some of late, with much discretion, have made a *parallel*) had his command in Gaul continued to him for five years; and was afterwards made perpetual dictator, that is to say, *general for life*; which gave him the power and the will of utterly destroying the Roman liberty. But in his time the Romans were very much degenerated, and great corrup-
tions

tions had crept into their morals and discipline. However, we see there still were some remains of a noble spirit among them; for when Cæsar sent to be chosen Consul, notwithstanding his absence, they decreed he should come in person, give up his command, and *petere more majorum*.

It is not impossible, but a general may desire such a commission out of *inadvertency*, at the *instigation of his friends*, or perhaps of his *enemies*; or merely for the *benefit and honour of it*, without intending any such *dreadful consequences*; and in that case a wise prince or state may barely refuse it without shewing any marks of their displeasure. But the request in its own nature is highly criminal, and ought to be entered so upon record, to terrify *others* in time to come from venturing to make it.

Another maxim to be observed by a free state engaged in war, is, to keep the military power in absolute subjection to the civil, nor ever suffer the former to influence or interfere with the latter. A general and his army are *servants*, hired by the civil power to act, as they are directed from thence, and with a commission large or limited, as the administration shall think fit; for which they are largely paid in profit and honour. The whole system by which armies are governed, is quite *alien* from the peaceful institutions of states at home; and if the rewards be so inviting as to tempt a senator to take a post in the army, whilst he is there on his duty, he ought to consider himself in no other capacity. I know not any sort of men so apt as soldiers are to reprimand those who presume to interfere in what relates to their trade. When they hear any of us, in a coffeehouse, wondering that such a victory was not pursued; complaining that such a town cost more men and money than it was worth to take it; or that such an opportunity was lost of fighting the enemy; they presently reprove us, and often with justice enough, for meddling in matters out of our sphere; and clearly convince us of our mistakes by terms of art that none of us understand. Nor do we escape so; for they reflect with the utmost contempt on our ignorance; that we, who sit at home in ease and security, never stirring from our fire-sides, should pretend, from books and general reason,

to argue upon military affairs; which after all, if we may judge from the share of intellectuals in some who are said to excel that way, is not so very profound, or difficult a science. But if there be any weight in what they offer, as perhaps there may be a great deal, surely these gentlemen have a much weaker pretence to concern themselves in matters of the cabinet, which are always either far above, or much beside their capacities. Soldiers may as well pretend to prescribe rules for trade, to determine points in philosophy, to be moderators in an assembly of divines, or direct in a court of justice, as to misplace their talent in examining affairs of state, especially in what relates to the *choice of ministers*, who are never so likely to be ill chosen as when approved by them. It would be endless to shew, how pernicious all steps of this nature have been in many parts and ages of the world. I shall only produce two at present; one in Rome, the other in England. The first is of Cæsar: when he came to the city with his soldiers to *settle the ministry*, there was an end of their liberty for ever. The second was in the great rebellion against K. Charles I. The King and both houses were agreed upon the terms of a peace; but the officers of the army, as Ludlow relates it, set a guard upon the house of Commons, took a list of the members, and kept all by force out of the house, except those who were for bringing the King to a trial. Some years after, when they erected a military government, and ruled the island by major-generals, we received most admirable instances of their skill in politics. To say the truth, such formidable sticklers can have but two reasons for desiring to interfere in the administration; the first is that of Cæsar and Cromwell, of which God forbid I should accuse or suspect any body, since the second is pernicious enough, and that is, *to preserve those in power who are for perpetuating a war, rather than see others advanced, who, they are sure, will use all proper means to promote a safe and honourable peace.*

Thirdly, Since it is observed of armies, that in the present age they are brought to some degree of humanity, and a more regular demeanor to each other and to the world, than in former times, it is certainly a good maxim

to endeavour preserving this temper among them ; without which they would soon degenerate into *savages*. To this end, it would be prudent, among other things, to forbid that detestable custom of *drinking to the damnation or confusion* of any person whatsoever.

Such desperate acts, and the opinions infused along with them into heads already inflamed by youth and wine, are enough to scatter madness and sedition through a whole camp. So seldom upon *their knees to pray*, and so often to *curse* ! this is not properly atheism, but a sort of *anti-religion* prescribed by the devil, and which an atheist of common sense would scorn as an absurdity. I have heard it mentioned as a common practice last autumn, *some where or other*, to *drink damnation and confusion* (and this with circumstances very aggravating and horrid) to the *new ministry*, and to those who had any hand in turning out the *old* ; that is to say, to those persons whom her Majesty has thought fit to employ in her greatest affairs, with something *more than a glance against the Queen herself*. And if it be true, that these *orgies* were attended with certain *doubtful words* of *standing by their general*, who without question abhorred them, let any man consider the consequence of such dispositions, if they should happen to spread. I could only wish, for the honour of the army, as well as of the Queen and ministry, that a remedy had been applied to the disease in the *place* and *time* where it grew. If men of such principles were able to propagate them in a camp, and were sure of a *general for life*, who had any tincture of ambition, we might soon bid farewell to ministers and parliaments, whether new or old.

I am only sorry, such an accident hath happened towards the close of a war ; when it is chiefly the interest of those gentlemen, who have posts in the army, to behave themselves in such a manner, as might encourage the legislature to make some provision for them, when there will be no further need of their service. They are to consider themselves as persons, by their education unqualified for many other stations of life. Their fortunes will not suffer them to retain to a party after its *fall*, nor have they weight or abilities to help towards its *resurrection*. Their future dependence is wholly upon the prince and parliament, to
which

which they will never make their way by *solemn execrations of the ministry*; a ministry of the Queen's own election, and fully answering the wishes of her people. This unhappy step in some of *their brethren* may pass for an uncontrollable argument, that politics are not their business or their element. The fortune of war hath raised several persons up to swelling titles, and great commands over numbers of men, which they are too apt to transfer along with them into civil life, and appear in all companies, as if they were at the head of their regiments, with a sort of deportment, that ought to have been dropt behind in that short passage to Harwich. It puts me in mind of a dialogue in Lucian, where Charon waiving one of their predecessors over Styx, ordered him to strip off his armour and fine cloaths, yet still thought him too heavy; "but, *said he*, put off likewise that pride and presumption, those high swelling words, and that vain glory;" because they were of no use on the other side the water. Thus, if all that array of military grandeur were confined to the proper scene, it would be much more for the interest of the owners, and less offensive to their fellow-subjects.

N^o 21. Thursday, December 28. 1710.

Nam et majorum instituta tueri, sacris ceremoniisque retinendis, sapientis est.

— *Ruituraque semper*
Stat (mirum!) moles —

Whoever is a true lover of our constitution, must needs be pleased to see what successful endeavours are daily made to restore it in every branch to its ancient form, from the languishing condition it hath long lain in, and with such deadly symptoms.

I have already handled some abuses during the *late management*, and shall in convenient time go on with the rest. Hitherto I have confined myself to those of the state; but, with

with the good leave of some who think it a matter of small moment, I shall now take liberty to say something of the church.

For several years past there hath not, I think, in Europe been any society of men upon so unhappy a foot as the clergy of England; nor more hardly treated by those very persons, from whom they deserved much better quarter, and in whose power they chiefly had put it to use them so ill. I would not willingly misrepresent facts, but I think it generally allowed by enemies and friends, that the bold and brave defences made before the *revolution* against those many invasions of our rights proceeded principally from the clergy; who are likewise known to have rejected all advances made them to close with the measures at that time concerting; while the *dissenters*, to gratify their ambition and revenge, fell into the basest compliances with the court, approved of all proceedings by their numerous and fulsome addresses, and took employments and commissions by virtue of the dispensing power, against the direct laws of the land. All this is so true, that if ever the pretender comes in, they will, next to those of his own religion, have the fairest claim and pretensions to his favour from their merit and eminent services to his supposed father, who, without such encouragement, would probably never have been misled to go the lengths he did. It should likewise be remembered to the everlasting honour of the London divines, that in those dangerous times they writ and published the best collection of arguments against *Papery*, that ever appeared in the world. At the revolution the body of the clergy joined heartily in the common cause, (except a few, whose sufferings perhaps have atoned for their mistakes), like men who are content to go about for avoiding a gulf or a precipice, but come into the old strait road again, as soon as they can. But another temper had now begun to prevail: for, as in the reign of K. Charles I. several well-meaning people were ready to join in reforming some abuses, while others, who had deeper designs, were still calling out for a *thorough reformation*, which ended at last in the ruin of the kingdom; so, after the late King's coming to the throne, there was a restless cry from men of *the same principles* for a *thorough revolution*; which,

as some were carrying it on, must have ended in the destruction of the monarchy and church.

What a violent humour hath run ever since against the clergy, and from what corner spread and fomented, is, I believe, manifest to all men. It looked like a set quarrel against *Christianity*; and, if we call to mind several of the *leaders*, it must, in a great measure, have been actually so. Nothing was more common in writing and conversation, than to hear that reverend body charged in gross with what was utterly inconsistent; despised for their poverty, hated for their riches; reproached with avarice, and taxed with luxury; accused for promoting arbitrary power, and for resisting the prerogative; censured for their pride, and scorned for their meanness of spirit. The representatives of the lower clergy were railed at for disputing the power of the bishops by the known abhorrrers of Episcopacy; and abused for doing nothing in the convocations by those very men who helped to bind up their hands. The vice, the folly, the ignorance of every single man were laid upon the character: their jurisdiction, censures, and discipline, trampled under foot; yet mighty complaints against their excessive power: the men of wit employed to turn the priesthood itself into ridicule: in short, groaning every where under the weight of poverty, oppression, contempt, and obloquy. A fair return for the time and money spent in their education to fit them for the service of the altar; and a fair encouragement for worthy men to come into the church! However, it may be some comfort for persons of that holy function, that their divine founder, as well as his *harbinger*, met with the like reception: *John came neither eating nor drinking, and they say he hath a devil; the Son of man came eating and drinking, and they say, Behold a glutton and a wine-bibber, &c.*

In this deplorable state of the clergy, nothing but the hand of Providence, working by its glorious instrument the Queen, could have been able to turn the people's hearts so surprisingly in their favour. This princess, destined for the safety of Europe, and a blessing to her subjects, began her reign with a noble benefaction to the church; and it was hoped the nation would have followed such an

example;

example; which nothing could have prevented, but the false politics of a set of men, who form their maxims upon those of every tottering commonwealth, which is always struggling for life, subsisting by expedients, and often at the mercy of any powerful neighbour. These men take it into their imagination, that trade can never flourish, unless the country becomes a common receptacle for all nations, religions, and languages; a system only proper for small popular states, but altogether unworthy and below the dignity of an imperial crown; which with us is best upheld by a monarchy in possession of its just prerogative, a senate of nobles and of commons, and a clergy established in its due rights with a suitable maintenance by law. But these men come with the spirit of *shopkeepers* to frame rules for the administration of kingdoms; or, as if they thought the whole art of government consisted in the importation of *nutmegs*, and the curing of *berrings*. Such an island as ours can afford enough to support the majesty of a crown, the honour of a nobility, and the dignity of a magistracy: we can encourage arts and sciences, maintain our bishops and clergy, and suffer our gentry to live in a decent, hospitable manner; yet still there will remain hands sufficient for trade and manufactures, which do always indeed deserve the best encouragement, but not to a degree of sending every living soul into the *warehouse* or the *workshop*.

This pedantry of republican politics hath done infinite mischief among us. To this we owe those noble schemes of treating Christianity as a system of *speculative opinions*, which no man should be bound to believe; of making the *being*, and the worship of God, a *creature* of the state; in consequence of these, that the teachers of religion ought to hold their maintenance at pleasure, or live by the alms and charitable collection of the people, and be equally encouraged of all opinions; that they should be *prescribed* what to teach by those who are to learn from them; and upon default have a *staff* and a *pair of shoes* left at their door: with many other projects of equal piety, wisdom, and good nature.

But, God be thanked, they and their schemes are *vanished*, and *their places shall know them no more*. When

I think of that inundation of atheism, infidelity, profaneness, and licentiousness, which was like to overwhelm us, from what mouths and hearts it first proceeded, and how the people joined with the Queen's endeavours to divert this flood, I cannot but reflect on that remarkable passage in the Revelation, where *the serpent with SEVEN heads cast out of his mouth water after the WOMAN like a flood; that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood: but the EARTH helped the WOMAN, and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood, which the dragon had cast out of his mouth.* For the Queen having changed her ministry suitable to her own wisdom, and the wishes of her subjects, and having called a free parliament, and at the same time summoned the convocation by her royal writ, *as in all times had been accustomed;* and soon after their meeting sent a most gracious letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury to be communicated to the bishops and clergy of his province; taking notice of "the loose and profane principles, which had been openly scattered and propagated among her subjects: that the consultations of the clergy were particularly requisite to repress and prevent such daring attempts, for which her subjects, from all parts of the kingdom, have shewn their just abhorrence: *she* hopes the endeavours of the clergy in this respect will not be unsuccessful; and for her part, is ready to give them all fit encouragement to proceed in the dispatch of such business as properly belongs to them; and to grant them powers requisite to carry on so good a work:" in conclusion, "earnestly recommending to them to avoid disputes; and determining to do all that in her lies to compose and extinguish them."

It is to be hoped, that this last part of her Majesty's letter will be the first she will please to execute; for, it seems, this very letter created the first dispute; the fact whereof is thus related. The upper house having formed an address to the Queen, before they received her Majesty's letter, sent both address and letter together to the lower house, with a message excusing their not mentioning the letter in the address, because *this* was formed before the *other* was received. The lower house returned them with

a desire, that an address might be formed with due regard and acknowledgments for the letter. After some difficulties, the same address was sent down again with a clause inserted, making some short mention of the said letter. This the lower house did not think sufficient, and sent it back again with the same request: whereupon the Archbishop, after a short consultation with *some* of his brethren, immediately adjourned the convocation for a month; and no address at all was sent to the Queen.

I understand not ecclesiastical affairs well enough to comment upon this matter; but it seems to me, that all methods of doing service to the church and kingdom, by means of a *convocation*, may be at any time eluded, if there be no remedy against such an incident. And, if this proceeding be agreeable to the institution, *spiritual assemblies* must needs be strangely contrived, very different from any *lay senate* yet known in the world. Surely, from the nature of such a *synod*, it must be a very unhappy circumstance, when the majority of the bishops draws one way, and that of the lower clergy another. The latter, I think, are not at this time suspected for any principles bordering upon those professed by enemies to Episcopacy; and if they happen to differ from the greater part of the *present set* of bishops, I doubt it will call *some things* to mind, that may turn the scale of general favour on the inferior clergy's side; who, with a profound duty to her Majesty, are perfectly pleased with the *present turn of affairs*. Besides, *curious people* will be apt to inquire into the *dates of some promotions*, to call to mind what designs were then upon the anvil; and from thence make *malicious deductions*. Perhaps they will observe the manner of voting on the bishops bench, and compare it with what shall pass in the upper house of convocation. There is however one comfort; that under the present dispositions of the kingdom a dislike to the proceedings of any of their Lordships, even to the number of a *majority*, will be purely *personal*, and not turned to the disadvantage of the *order*. And for my part, as I am a true lover of the church, I had rather find the inclinations of the people favourable to *Episcopacy* in general, than see a majority of prelates cried up by those who are *known enemies* to the

character. Nor indeed hath any thing given me more offence for several years past, than to observe, how *some* of that bench have been caressed by *certain persons*; and *others* of them openly celebrated by the infamous pens of atheists, republicans, and fanatics.

Time and mortality can only remedy these inconveniences in the church, which are not to be cured, like those in the state, by a *change of ministry*. If we may guess the temper of a *convocation* from the choice of a *prolocutor*, as it is usual to do that of a house of commons by the *speaker*, we may expect great things from that reverend body, who have done themselves much reputation by pitching upon a *gentleman* of so much piety, wit, and learning, for that office; and one who is so thoroughly versed in those parts of knowledge which are proper for it. I am sorry, that the three Latin speeches delivered upon presenting the *prolocutor* were not made public; they might perhaps have given us some light into the disposition of each house: and besides, one of them is said to be so peculiar in the style and matter, as might have made up in *entertainment* what it wanted in *instruction*.

No 22. Thursday, January 4. 1710.

Nullæ sunt occultiores insidiæ, quam ea, quæ latent in simulatione officii, aut in aliquo necessitudinis nomine.

The following answer is written in the true style, and with the usual candour of such pieces; which I have imitated to the best of my skill, and doubt not but the reader will be extremely satisfied with it.

The EXAMINER cross-examined; or, A full answer to the last EXAMINER.

IF I durst be so bold with this author, I would gladly ask him a familiar question: *Pray, Sir, who made you an examiner?* He talks in one of his insipid papers of *eight*

or

or nine thousand corruptions, while we were at the head of affairs; yet in all this time he hath hardly produced fifty:

Parturiunt montes, &c.

Hor.

But I shall confine myself at present to his last paper. He tells us, *the Queen began her reign with a noble benefaction to the church.* Here is *priestcraft* with a witness! This is the constant language of your *highfliers*, to call those who are *hired* to teach *the religion of the magistrate*, by the name of the church. But this is not all; for in the very next line he says, *it was hoped the nation would have followed this example.* You see the *faction* begins already to speak out: this is an open demand for the abbey-land; this furious zealot would have us *priest-ridden* again, like our Popish ancestors; but it is to be hoped the government will take timely care to suppress such audacious attempts; else we have spent so much blood and treasure to very little purpose in maintaining *religion* and the *revolution*. But what can we expect from a man who at one blow endeavours to ruin our trade? *A country*, says he, *may flourish* (these are his own words) *without being the common receptacle for all nations, religions, and languages.* What! we must immediately banish, or murder the Palatines; forbid all foreign merchants not only the exchange, but the kingdom; persecute the dissenters with fire and faggot; and make it high treason to speak any other tongue but English. In another place he talks of a *serpent* with *seven heads*, which is a manifest corruption of the text; for the words, *seven heads*, are not mentioned in that verse. However, we know what *serpent* he would mean; a *serpent* with *fourteen legs*; or indeed no *serpent* at all, but seven great men, who were the *best ministers*, the *truest Protestants*, and the most *disinterested patriots*, that ever served a prince. But nothing is so inconsistent as this writer. I know not whether to call him a Whig or a Tory, a Protestant or a Papist; he finds fault with convocations; says *they are assemblies strangely contrived*; and yet lays the fault upon us, that we *bound their hands*: I wish we could have bound

bound their *tongues* too. But, as fast as their *hands* were bound, they could make a shift to hold their *pens*, and have their share in the guilt of ruining the hopefulest party and ministry that ever *prescribed* to a crown. This captious gentleman is angry to see a majority of *prelates* cried up by those who are enemies to the character: Now, I always thought, that the concessions of enemies were more to a man's advantage, than the praise of his friends. *Time and mortality*, he says, *can only remedy these inconveniencies in the church*: that is, in other words, when certain bishops are dead, we shall have others of our own stamp. Not so fast: you are not yet so sure of your game. We have already got one *comfortable loss* in Spain, although by a general of our own: for joy of which our junto had a merry meeting at the house of their great profelyte, on the very day we received the happy news. One or two more such *blows* would perhaps set us right again; and then we can employ mortality, as well as others. He concludes with wishing, that *three letters, spoken when the prolocutor was presented, were made public*. I suppose he would be content with *one*; and that is more than we shall humour him to grant. However, I hope he will allow it possible to have *grace*, without either *eloquence* or *Latin*; which is all I shall say to this malicious *innuendo*.

Having thus, I hope, given a *full and satisfactory answer* to the Examiner's last paper, I shall now go on to a more important affair, which is, to prove by several undeniable instances that the late ministry and their abettors were true friends to the church. It is yet, I confess, a secret to the clergy, wherein this friendship did consist. For information therefore of that reverend body, that they may never forget their benefactors, as well as of all others who may be equally ignorant, I have determined to display our merits to the world upon that weighty article. And I could wish, that what I am to say were to be written in brass for an eternal memorial; the rather, because for the future the church must endeavour to stand unsupported by those patrons, who expired in doing it their *last good office*, and will never rise to preserve it any more.

Let us therefore produce the pious endeavours of these church-

church-defenders, who were its patrons by their power and authority, as well as ornaments of it by their exemplary lives.

First, St Paul tells us, *there must be heresies in the church, that the truth may be manifest*; and therefore, by due course of reasoning, the more heresies there are, the more manifest will the truth be made. This being maturely considered by these lovers of the church, they endeavoured to propagate as many heresies as they could, that the light of the truth might shine the clearer.

Secondly, To shew their zeal for the church's defence, they took the care of it entirely out of the hands of *God almighty*, (because that was a *foreign jurisdiction*), and made it their own *creature*, depending altogether upon them; and issued out their orders to Tindal, and others, to give public notice of it.

Thirdly, Because *charity* is the most celebrated of all Christian virtues, therefore they extended theirs beyond all bounds; and, instead of shutting the church against *dis-senters*, were ready to open it to all *comers*, and *break down its walls*, rather than that any should want room to enter. The strength of a state, we know, consisteth in the number of people, how different soever in their callings; and why should not the strength of a church consist in the same, how different soever in their *creeds*? For that reason they charitably attempted to abolish the *test*, which tied up so many hands from getting employments, in order to protect the church.

I know very well, that this attempt is objected to us as a crime by several *malignant Tories*, and denied as a slander by many unthinking people among ourselves. The latter are apt, in their defence, to ask such questions as these: *Was your test repealed? had we not a majority? might we not have done it, if we pleased?* To which the others answer, *You did what you could: you prepared the way, but you found a fatal impediment from that quarter, whence the sanction of the law must come; and therefore, to save your credit, you condemned a paper to be burnt, which yourselves had brought in.* But, alas! the miscarriage of that noble project for the safety of the church had another original; the knowledge whereof depends

pend upon a piece of secret history, which I shall now lay open.

These church-protectors had directed a *Presbyterian preacher* to draw up a bill for repealing the *test*. It was accordingly done with great art; and, in the preamble, several expressions of civility to the *established church*; and when it came to the qualifications of all those who were to enter on any office, the compiler had taken special care to make them large enough for all Christians whatsoever, by transcribing the very words (only formed into an *oath*) which Quakers are obliged to profess by a former act of parliament; as I shall here set them down: *I, A. B. profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God; and in the Holy Spirit, one God, blessed for evermore; and do acknowledge the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration.* This bill was carried to the chief leaders, for their approbation, with these terrible words turned into an oath. What should they do? Those few among them who fancied they believed in *God*, were sure they did not believe in *Christ*, or the *Holy Spirit*, or one syllable of the *Bible*; and they were as sure that every body knew their opinion in those matters, which indeed they had been always too sincere to disguise; how therefore could they take such an oath as that, without ruining their reputation with Tindal, Toland, Coward, Collins, Clendon, and all the tribe of freethinkers, and so *give a scandal to weak unbelievers*? Upon this nice point of honour and conscience the matter was hushed, the project for repealing the *test* let fall, and the *sacrament* left as the smaller evil of the two.

Fourthly, These pillars of the church, because *the harvest was great, and the labourers few*, and because they would ease the bishops from that grievous trouble of *laying on hands*, were willing to allow that power to all men whatsoever, to prevent that terrible consequence of *un-churching* those who thought a hand from under a *cloak* as effectual as from *lawn sleeves*. And indeed what could more contribute to the advancement of true religion, than a bill of general *naturalization for priesthood*?

Fifthly, In order to fix religion in the minds of men, because

because truth never appears so fair as when confronted with falsehood, they directed books to be published, that denied the being of a God, the divinity of the *second and third person*, the truth of all revelation, and the immortality of the soul. To this we owe that great sense of religion, that respect and kindness to the clergy, and that true love of virtue, so manifest of late years among the youth of our nation. Nor could any thing be more discreet, than to leave the merits of each cause to such wise, impartial judges; who might otherwise fall under the slavery of believing by *education and prejudice*.

Sixthly, Because nothing so much distracts the thoughts, as too great variety of subjects, therefore they had kindly prepared a bill to prescribe the clergy what subjects they should preach upon, and in what manner, that they might be at no loss; and this no doubt was a proper work for such hands, so thoroughly versed in the theory and practice of all Christian duties.

Seventhly, To save trouble and expense to the clergy, they contrived that *convocations* should meet as seldom as possible; and, when they were suffered to assemble, would never allow them to meddle with any business; because, *they said*, the office of a clergyman was enough to take up the *whole man*. For the same reason they were very desirous to excuse the bishops from sitting in parliament, that they might be at more leisure to stay at home and look after the inferior clergy.

I shall mention at present but one more instance of their pious zeal for the church. They had somewhere heard the maxim, That *sanguis martyrum est semen ecclesie*; therefore, in order to *sow this seed*, they began with *impeaching a clergyman*: and that it might be a true martyrdom in every circumstance, they proceeded as much as possible against common law; which the *long-robe part* of the *managers* knew, was in an hundred instances directly contrary to all their positions, and *were sufficiently warned of it beforehand*; but their love of the church prevailed. Neither was this impeachment an affair taken up on a sudden; for a certain great person (whose character hath been lately published by some stupid and lying writer) who very much distinguished himself by his zeal for forwarding

warding this *impeachment*, had several years ago endeavoured to persuade the late King to give way to just such another attempt. He told his Majesty, there was a certain clergyman, who preached very dangerous sermons, and that the only way to put a stop to such insolence was to impeach him in parliament. The King inquired the character of the man: *O Sir*, said my Lord, *the most violent; hot, positive fellow in England; so extremely wilful, that I believe he would be heartily glad to be a martyr.* The King answered, *Is it so? then I am resolved to disappoint him;* and would never hear more of the matter; by which that hopeful project unhappily miscarried.

I have hitherto confined myself to those endeavours for the good of the church, which were common to all the leaders and principal men of *our* party; but, if my paper were not drawing towards an end, I could produce several instances of particular persons, who, by their exemplary lives and actions, have confirmed the character so justly due to the whole body. I shall at present mention only two, and illustrate the merits of each by a matter of fact.

That worthy patriot and *true lover* of the church, whom a *late Examiner* is supposed to reflect on under the name of *Verrès*, felt a pious impulse to be a benefactor to the cathedral of Gloucester; but how to do it in the most decent generous manner, was the question. At last he thought of an expedient: one morning, or night, he stole into the church, mounted upon the altar, and there did that which in cleanly phrase is called *disburdening of nature*. He was discovered, prosecuted, and condemned to pay a thousand *pounds*; which sum was all employed to *support the church*, as no doubt the *benefactor* meant it.

There is another person, whom the same writer is thought to point at under the name of *Will Bigamy*. This gentleman, knowing that marriage-fees were a considerable perquisite to the clergy, found out a way of improving them *cent. per cent.* for the *good of the church*. His invention was to marry a second wife, while the first was alive, convincing her of the lawfulness by such arguments, as he did not doubt would make others follow the same example. These he had drawn up in writing, with intention

tion to publish for the *general good*; and it is hoped, he may *now* have leisure to finish them.

N^o 23. Thursday, January 11. 1710.

Bellum ita suscipiatur, ut nihil aliud nisi pax quaesita videatur.

I AM satisfied, that no reasonable man of either party can justly be offended at any thing I said in one of my papers relating to the army. From the maxims I there laid down perhaps many persons may conclude, that I had a mind, the world should think there had been occasion given by some late abuses among men of that calling; and they conclude right: for my intention is, that my hints may be understood, and my quotations and allegories applied: and I am in some pain to think, that in the Orcades on one side, and the western coasts of Ireland on the other, the *Examiner* may want a *key* in several parts, which I wish I could furnish them with. As to the French King, I am under no concern at all: I hear he hath left off reading my papers, and by what he hath found in them, dislikes our proceedings more than ever; and intends, either to make great additions to his armies, or propose new terms for a peace. So false is that which is commonly reported of his mighty satisfaction in our change of ministry. And I think it clear, that his late letter of thanks to the *Tories* of Great Britain must either have been extorted from him, against his judgment; or was a cast of politics to set the people against the present ministry; wherein it hath *wonderfully* succeeded.

But, though I have never heard, or never regarded any objections made against that paper, which mentions the army; yet I intended this as a sort of apology for it. And first I declare, (because we live in a mistaken world), that in hinting at some proceedings, wherein a few persons are said to be concerned, I did not intend to charge them upon the body of the army. I have too much detested

that barbarous injustice among the writers of a late party to be ever guilty of it myself; I mean the accusing societies for the crimes of a few. On the other side, I must take leave to believe, that armies are no more exempt from corruptions than other numbers of men. The maxims proposed were occasionally introduced by the report of certain facts, which I am bound to believe are true, because I am sure, considering what hath passed, it would be a crime to think otherwise. All posts in the army, all employments at court, and many others are, *or ought to be*, given and resumed at the mere pleasure of the prince; yet when I see a great officer broke, a change made in the court, or the ministry, and this under the most just and gracious princess that ever reigned, I must naturally conclude, it is done upon prudent considerations, and for some great demerit in the sufferers. But then, is not the punishment sufficient? Is it generous, or charitable, to trample on the unfortunate, and expose their faults to the world in the strongest colours? And would it not suit better with magnanimity, as well as common good nature, to leave them at quiet to their own thoughts and repentance? Yes, without question; provided it could be so contrived, that their very names, as well as actions, might be forgotten for ever; *such* an act of oblivion would be for the honour of our nation, and beget a better opinion of us with posterity; and then I might have spared the world and myself the trouble of *examining*. But at present there is a cruel *dilemma* in the case; the friends and abettors of the late ministry are every day publishing their praises to the world, and casting reflections upon the present persons in power. This is so barefaced an aspersion upon the Queen, that I know not how any good subject can with patience endure it, although he were ever so indifferent with regard to the opinions in dispute. Shall they who have lost all power and love of the people, be allowed to scatter their poison; and shall not those, who are at least of the strongest side, be suffered to bring an antidote? and how can we undeceive the deluded remainder, but by letting them see, that these discarded statesmen were justly laid aside; and producing as many instances to prove it as we can? not from any personal hatred to them,

them, but in justification to the best of queens. The many scurrilities I have heard and read against this poor paper of mine, are in such a strain, that, considering the present state of affairs, they look like a jest. They usually run after the following manner. "What! shall this insolent writer presume to censure the late ministry, the ablest, the most faithful, and truest lovers of their country and its constitution, that ever served a prince? Shall he reflect on the best house of commons, that ever sat within those walls? Hath not the Queen changed both for a ministry and parliament of *Jacobites* and *highfliers*, who are selling us to France, and bringing over the *pretender*?" This is the very sum and force of all their reasonings, and this is their method of complaining against the Examiner. In *them* it is humble and loyal to reflect upon the Queen, and the ministry and parliament she hath chosen with the universal applause of her people: in *us* it is insolent to defend her Majesty and her choice, or to answer their objections by shewing the reasons why those changes were necessary.

The same style hath been used in the late case concerning some gentlemen in the army. Such a clamour was raised by a set of men, who had the boldness to tax the administration with cruelty and injustice, that I thought it necessary to interfere a little, by shewing the ill consequences that might arise from some proceedings, although without application to particular persons. And what do they offer in answer? Nothing but a few common places against *calumny* and *informers*; which might have been full as just and seasonable in a plot against the sacred person of the Queen.

But, by the way, why are these idle people so indiscreet to name those *two words*, which afford occasion of laying open to the world such an infamous scene of *subordination* and *perjury*, as well as *calumny* and *informing*, as, I believe, is without example; when a whole *cabal* attempted an *action*, wherein a *condemned criminal* * refused to join with them for the reward of his life? Not that I disapprove their sagacity, who could foretel so long before by what

* Greg.

band they should one day fall, and therefore thought any means justifiable, by which they might prevent it.

But waving this at present, it must be owned in justice to the army, that those violences did not proceed so far among them, as some have believed; nor ought the madness of a *few* to be laid at their doors. For the rest, I am so far from denying the due praises to those brave troops, who did their part in procuring so many victories for the *allies*; that I could wish, every officer and private soldier had their full share of honour in proportion to their deserts; being thus far of the Athenians mind, who, when it was proposed that the statue of Miltiades should be set up alone in some public place of the city, said, they would agree to it, *whenever he conquered alone*, but not before. Neither do I at all blame the officers of the army for preferring in their hearts the late ministry before the present; or, if wishing alone could be of any use, for wishing their continuance, because then they might be secure of the war's continuance too; whereas, since affairs have been put into other hands, they may perhaps lie under some apprehensions of a peace; which no army, especially in the course of success, was ever inclined to; and which all wise states have in such a juncture chiefly endeavoured. This is a point wherein the civil and military politics have always disagreed: and for that reason I affirmed it necessary in all free governments, that the latter should be absolutely in subjection to the former; otherwise one of these two inconveniencies must arise, either to be perpetually in war, or to turn the *civil* institution into a *military*.

I am ready to allow all that hath been said of the valour and experience of our troops, who have fully contributed their part to the great successes abroad; nor is it their fault, that those important victories had no better consequences at home, though it may be their *advantage*. War is their trade and business: to improve and cultivate the advantages of success, is an affair of the cabinet; and the neglect of this, whether proceeding from weakness or corruption, according to the usual uncertainty of wars, may be of the most fatal consequence to the nation. For, pray, let me represent our condition in such a light, as I believe both parties will allow, though perhaps not the consequences

consequences I shall deduce from it. We have been for above nine years blessed with a Queen, who, besides all virtues that can enter into the composition of a private person, possesseth every regal quality that can contribute to make a people happy: of great wisdom, yet ready to receive the advice of her counsellors: of much discernment in chusing proper instruments, when she follows her own judgment; and only capable of being deceived by that excess of goodness, which makes her judge of others by herself: frugal in her management, in order to contribute to the public, which in proportion she doth, and that voluntarily, beyond any of her subjects; but from her own nature generous and charitable to all who want or deserve; and, in order to exercise those virtues, denying herself all entertainments of expense, which many others enjoy. Then, if we look abroad, at least in Flanders, our arms have been crowned with perpetual success in battles and sieges; not to mention several fortunate actions in Spain. These facts being thus stated, which none can deny; it is natural to ask, how we have improved such advantages, and to what account they have turned? I shall use no discouraging terms. When a patient grows daily worse by the tampering of mountebanks, there is nothing left but to call in the best physicians, before the case grows desperate. But I would ask, whether France, or any other kingdom, would have made so little use of such prodigious opportunities? the fruits whereof could never have fallen to the ground without the extremest degree of folly and corruption; and where those have lain, let the world judge. Instead of aiming at peace, while we had the advantage of the war, which hath been the perpetual maxim of all wise states, it hath been reckoned factious and malignant even to express our wishes for it; and such a condition imposed, as was never offered to any prince, who had an inch of ground to dispute; *quæ enim est conditio pacis, in qua ei, cum quo pacem facias, nihil concedi potest?*

It is not obvious to conceive what could move men, who sat at home, and were called to consult upon the good of the kingdom, to be so utterly averse from putting an end to a long, expensive war, which the victorious, as well as

conquered side, were heartily weary of. Few, or none of them, were men of the sword; they had no share in the honour; they had made large fortunes, and were at the head of all affairs. But they well knew by what tenure they held their power; that the Queen saw through their designs; that they had entirely lost the hearts of the clergy; that the landed men were against them; that they were detested by the body of the people; and that nothing bore them up but their credit with the bank, and other stocks, which would be neither formidable nor necessary, when the war was at an end. For these reasons they resolved to disappoint all overtures of a peace, until they and their party should be so deeply rooted, as to make it impossible to shake them. To this end they began to precipitate matters so fast, as in a little time must have ruined the constitution, if the crown had not interposed, and rather ventured the accidental effects of their malice, than such dreadful consequences of their power. And indeed, if the former danger had been greater than some hoped or feared, I see no difficulty in the choice, which was the same with his, who said, *he had rather be devoured by wolves than by rats*. I therefore still insist, that we cannot wonder at, or find fault with the army for concurring with the ministry, which was for prolonging the war. The inclination is natural in them all; pardonable in those who have not yet made their fortunes; and as lawful in the rest, as love of power, or love of money, can make it. But, as natural, as pardonable, and as lawful as this inclination is, when it is not under check of the civil power, or when a corrupt ministry joins in giving it too great a scope, the consequence can be nothing less, than infallible ruin and slavery to a state.

After I had finished this paper, the printer sent me two small pamphlets, called, *The management of the war*; written with some plausibility, much artifice, and abundance of misrepresentations, as well as direct falsehoods in point of fact. These I have thought worth *examining*, which I shall accordingly do, when I find an opportunity.

N^o 24. Thursday, January 18. 1710.*Parva momenta in spem metumque impellunt animos.*

HOpes are natural to most men, especially to sanguine complexions; and among the various changes that happen in the course of public affairs, they are seldom without some grounds. Even in desperate cases, where it is impossible they should have any foundation, they are often affected to keep a countenance, and make an enemy think we have some recourse, which they know nothing of. This appears to have been for several months past the condition of those people, whom I am forced, for want of other phrases, to call the *ruined party*. They have taken up since their fall some real, and some pretended hopes. When the Earl of Sunderland was discarded, they *hoped* her Majesty would proceed no farther in the change of her ministry; and had the insolence to misrepresent her words to foreign states. They *hoped*, nobody durst advise the dissolution of the parliament. When this was done, and further alterations made in court, they *hoped*, and endeavoured to ruin the credit of the nation. They likewise *hoped*, that we should have some terrible loss abroad, which would force us to unravel all, and begin again upon their bottom. But, of all their *hopes*, whether real or assumed, there is none more extraordinary than that which they now would seem to place their whole confidence in : that this great turn of affairs was only occasioned by a short madness of the people, from which they will recover in a little time, when their eyes are open, and they grow cool and sober enough to consider the truth of things, and how much they have been deceived. It is not improbable, that some few of the deepest sighted among these reasoners are well enough convinced, how vain all such *hopes* must be : but for the rest, the wisest of them seem to have been very ill judges of the people's dispositions ; the want of which knowledge

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was a principal occasion to hasten their ruin ; for surely, had they suspected which way the popular current inclined, they never would have run against it by that *impeachment*. I therefore conclude, they generally are so blind, as to imagine some comfort from this fantastical opinion ; that the people of England are at present distracted, but will shortly come to their senses again.

For the service therefore of our adversaries and friends, I shall briefly *examine* this point, by shewing what are the causes and symptoms of a people's madness ; and how it differs from their natural bent and inclination.

It is Machiavel's observation, that the people, when left to their own judgment, do seldom mistake their true interests ; and indeed they naturally love the constitution they are born under ; never desiring to change, but under great oppressions. However, they are to be deceived by several means. It hath often happened in Greece, and sometimes in Rome, that those very men who have contributed to shake off a former tyranny, have, instead of restoring the old constitution, deluded the people into a worse and more ignominious slavery. Besides, all great changes have the same effect upon commonwealths, that thunder hath upon liquors, making the *dregs* fly up to the top ; the lowest plebeians rise to the head of affairs, and there preserve themselves, by representing the nobles, and other friends to the old government, as enemies to the public. The encouraging of new mysteries and new deities, with the pretences of farther purity in religion, hath likewise been a frequent topic to mislead the people. And not to mention more, the promoting false reports of dangers from abroad, hath often served to prevent them from fencing against real dangers at home. By these, and the like arts, in conjunction with a great depravity of manners, and a weak or corrupt administration, the madness of the people hath risen to such a height as to break in pieces the whole frame of the best instituted governments. But, however, such great frenzies, being artificially raised, are a perfect force and constraint upon human nature ; and under a wise steady prince will certainly decline of themselves, settling like the sea after a storm ; and then the true bent and ge-

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nius of the people will appear. Ancient and modern story are full of instances to illustrate what I say.

In our own island we had a great example of a long madness in the people, kept up by a thousand artifices, like intoxicating medicines, until the constitution was destroyed; yet the malignity being spent, and the humour exhausted that served to foment it, before the usurpers could fix upon a new scheme, the people suddenly recovered, and peaceably restored the old constitution.

From what I have offered, it will be easy to decide, whether this late change in the disposition of the people was a new madness, or a recovery from an old one. Neither do I see how it can be proved, that such a change had in any circumstance the least symptoms of madness, whether my description of it be right or no. It is agreed, that the truest way of judging the disposition of the people in the choice of their representatives is by computing the county-elections; and in these it is manifest, that five in six are entirely for the present measures; although the court was so far from interposing its credit, that there was no change in the admiralty, not above one or two in the lieutenantancy, nor any other methods used to influence elections. The free, unextorted addresses sent some time before from every part of the kingdom plainly shewed, what sort of bent the people had taken, and from what motives. The election of members for this great city, carried, contrary to all conjecture, against the united interest of those two great bodies, the Bank and East-India company, was another convincing argument. Besides, the *Whigs* themselves have always confessed, that the bulk of landed men in England was generally of *Tories*. So that this change must be allowed to be according to the natural genius and disposition of the people; whether it were just and reasonable in itself or no.

Notwithstanding all which, you shall frequently hear the *partisans* of the late men in power gravely and decisively pronounce, that the present ministry cannot possibly stand. Now, they who affirm this, if they believe themselves, must ground their opinion upon the iniquity of the *last* being so far established and deeply rooted, that no endeavours of honest men will be able to restore things to
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their former state. Or else these reasoners have been so misled by twenty years mismanagement, that they have forgot our constitution, and talk as if our monarchy and revolution began together. But the body of the people is wiser; and by the choice they have made, shew they do understand our constitution, and would bring it back to the old form; which if the new ministers take care to maintain, they will and ought to stand; otherwise they may fall like their predecessors. But I think, we may easily foresee what a parliament, freely chosen, without threatening or corruption, is likely to do, when no man shall be in any danger to lose his *place* by the freedom of his *voice*.

But who are those advancers of this opinion, that the present ministry cannot hold? It must be either such as are afraid to be called to an account, in case it should hold: or those who keep offices, from which others, better qualified, were removed, and may reasonably apprehend to be turned out for worthier men to come into their places; since perhaps it will be necessary to make some changes, that the public business of the nation may go on: or, lastly, *stockjobbers*, who industriously spread such reports, that actions may fall, and their friends buy to advantage.

Yet these hopes, thus freely expressed, as they are more sincere, so they are more supportable, than when they appear under the *disguise* and pretence of *fears*. Some of these gentlemen are employed to shake their heads in proper companies; to doubt where all this will end; to be in mighty pain for the nation; to shew how impossible it is, that the public credit can be supported; to pray that all may do well in whatever hands; but very much to doubt that the pretender is at the bottom. I know not any thing so nearly resembling this behaviour, as what I have often seen among the friends of a sick man, whose interest it is that he should die. The physicians protest they see no danger, the symptoms are good, the medicines answer expectation; yet still they are not to be comforted; they whisper, he is a gone man, it is not possible he should hold out; he hath perfect death in his face; they never liked his doctor. At last, the patient recovers, and their joy is as false as their grief.

I believe there is no man so sanguine, who did not apprehend some ill consequences from the late change; though not in any proportion to the good ones: but it is manifest, the former have proved much fewer and lighter than were expected, either at home or abroad, by the fears of our friends, or the hopes of our enemies. Those remedies that stir the humours in a diseased body, are at first more painful than the malady itself; yet certain death is the consequence of deferring them too long. Actions have fallen, and the loans are said to come in slowly. But besides that, something of this must have been whether there had been any change or no: besides that the surprise of every change, for the better as well as the worse, is apt to affect credit for a while; there is a farther reason, which is plain and scandalous. When the late party was at the helm, those who were called the *Tories*, never put their resentments in balance with the safety of the nation: but cheerfully contributed to the common cause; now the scene is changed, the fallen party seems to act from very different motives; they have *given the word about*; they will keep their money, and be passive; and in this point, stand upon the same foot with *Papists* and *Nonjurors*. What would have become of the public, if the present great majority had acted thus during the late administration, before the others were masters of that wealth they have squeezed out of the landed men, and with the strength of which they would now hold the kingdom at defiance?

Thus much I have thought fit to say, without pointing reflections upon any particular person, which I have hitherto but sparingly done, and that only towards those whose characters are too profligate, that the managing of them should be of any consequence. Besides, as it is a talent I am not naturally fond of; so, in the subjects I treat, it is generally needless. If I display the effects of avarice and ambition, of bribery and corruption, of gross immorality and irreligion; those who are the least conversant in things, will easily know where to apply them. Not that I lay any weight upon the objections of such who charge me with this proceeding: it is notorious enough, that the writers of the other side were the first aggressors. Not to mention their scurrilous libels, many years ago, directly levelled

levelled at particular persons ; how many papers do now come out every week, full of rude invectives against the present ministry, with the first and last letters of their names to prevent mistakes ? It is good sometimes to let these people see, that we neither want spirit nor materials to retaliate ; and therefore, in this point *alone*, I shall follow their example, whenever I find myself sufficiently provoked ; only with one addition, that whatever charges I bring, either general or particular, shall be religiously true, founded either upon avowed facts, which none can deny, or such as I can prove from my own knowledge.

Being resolved publicly to confess any mistakes I have been guilty of, I do hereby humbly desire the reader's pardon for one of mighty importance, about a fact in one of my papers said to be done in the cathedral of Gloucester. A whole hydra of errors in two words ! For, as I am since informed, it was neither in the cathedral, nor city, nor county of Gloucester, but some other church of that diocese. If I had ever met any other objection of equal weight, although from the meanest hands, I should certainly have answered it.

N^o 25. Thursday, January 25. 1710.

Διαλεξάμενοι τινα ἡσυχῇ, τὸ μὲν σὺμπαν ἐπὶ τε τῇ δυναστείᾳ,
καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συνώμοσαν.

Summissa quædam voce collocuti sunt, quorum summa erat de dominatione sibi confirmanda, ac inimicis delendis, conjuratio.

NO T many days ago I observed a knot of discontented gentlemen, cursing the *Tories* to hell for their uncharitableness in affirming, that, if the late ministry had continued to this time, we should have had neither *church* nor *monarchy* left. They are usually so candid, as to call that the opinion of the party, which they hear in a coffee-house, or over a bottle, from some warm young people, whom

whom it is odds but they have provoked to say more than they believed, by some positions as absurd and ridiculous of their own. And so it proved in this very instance : for, asking one of these gentlemen, what it was that provoked those he had been disputing with, to advance such a paradox ; he assured me in a very calm manner, it was nothing in the world, but that himself and some others of the company had made it appear, that the design of the present parliament and ministry was to bring in *Popery*, *arbitrary power*, and the *pretender* : which I take to be an opinion fifty times more improbable, as well as more uncharitable, than what is charged upon the *Whigs* : because I defy our adversaries to produce one single reason for suspecting such designs in the persons now at the helm ; whereas I can, upon demand, produce twenty to shew, that some late men had strong views towards a *commonwealth*, and the alteration of the *church*.

It is natural indeed, when a storm is over, that hath only untiled our houses and blown down some of our chimneys, to consider what farther mischiefs might have ensued, if it had lasted longer. However, in the present case I am not of the opinion above mentioned. I believe the church and state might have lasted *somewhat longer*, although the late enemies to both had done their worst. I can hardly conceive, how things would have been soon ripe for a new revolution. I am convinced, that if they had offered to make such large and sudden strides, it must have come to blows ; and, according to the computation we have now reason to think a right one, I can partly guess, what would have been the issue. Besides, we are sure the Queen would have interposed, before they came to extremities ; and as little as they regarded the regal authority, would have been a check in their career :

But, instead of this question, what would have been the consequence, if the late ministry had continued ? I will propose another, which will be more useful for us to consider ; and that is, *What we may reasonably expect they will do, if ever they come into power again ?* This, we know, is the design and endeavour of all those scribbles which daily fly about in their favour ; of all the false, insolent, and scandalous libels against the present administration ;

tion; and of all those engines set at work to sink the *actions*, and blow up the public credit. As for those who shew their inclinations by writing, there is one consideration, which I wonder doth not sometimes affect them: for how can they forbear having a good opinion of the gentleness and innocence of those who permit them to employ their pens as they do? It puts me in mind of an insolent, pragmatistical orator somewhere in Greece, who, railing with great freedom at the chief men in the state, was answered by one who had been very instrumental in recovering the liberty of the city, that *he thanked the gods, they had now arrived to the condition he always wished them in, when every man in that city might securely say what he pleased.* I wish these gentlemen would however compare the liberty they take, with what their masters used to give; how many messengers and warrants would have gone out against any, who durst have opened their lips, or drawn their pens, against the persons and proceedings of their *juntos* and *cabals*? How would their weekly writers have been calling out for *prosecution* and *punishment*? We remember, when a poor nickname*, borrowed from an old play of Ben Johnson, and mentioned in a sermon without any particular application, was made use of as a motive to spur on an impeachment. But after all it must be confessed, they had reasons to be thus severe, which their successors have not: their faults would never endure the light; and to have exposed them sooner, would have raised the kingdom against the actors, before the proper time.

But to come to the subject I have now undertaken, which is to examine what the consequences would be, upon supposition that the *Whigs* were now restored to their power: I already imagine the present free parliament dissolved, and another of a different epithet met by the force of money and management. I read immediately a dozen or two stinging votes against the proceedings of the late ministry. The bill † now to be repealed would then be re-enacted, and the birth-right of an Englishman reduced again to the value of twelve pence. But to give the reader

* Volpone was a nickname given to Lord Treasurer Godolphin.

† A bill for a general naturalization.

a stronger imagination of such a scene, let me represent the designs of some men, lately endeavoured and projected, in the form of a paper of votes.

“ *Ordered,*

“ That a bill be brought in for repealing the *sacramental test*.

“ A petition of Tindal, Collins, Clendon, Coward, and Toland, in behalf of themselves and many hundreds of their disciples, some of whom are members of this honourable house; desiring that leave may be given to bring in a bill for qualifying *Atheists, Deists, and Soci-nians* to serve their country in any employment ecclesiastical, civil, or military.

“ *Ordered,*

“ That leave be given to bring in a bill according to the prayer of the said petition; and that Mr Lechmere* do prepare and bring in the same.

“ *Ordered,*

“ That a bill be brought in for removing the education of youth out of the hands of the clergy.

“ Another to forbid the clergy preaching certain duties in religion; especially *obedience to princes*.

“ Another to take away the jurisdiction of bishops.

“ Another for constituting a general *for life*; with instructions to the committee, that care may be taken to make the war last as long as the life of the said general.

“ A bill of attainder against James Duke of Ormond, John Duke of Buckingham, Laurence Earl of Rochester, Sir Simon Harcourt, Knight, Robert Harley and William Shippen, Esquires, Abigail Masham, spinster, and others, for high treason against the *junto*.

“ *Resolved,*

“ That Sarah Duchess of Marlborough hath been a most dutiful, just, and grateful servant to her Majesty.

“ *Resolved,*

“ That to advise the dissolution of a *Whig* parliament, or the removal of a *Whig* ministry, was in order to bring in *Popery* and the *pretender*; and that the said advice was high treason.

* Mr Lechmere was one of the managers against Dr Sacheverel, and summed up the evidence. *Hawkes.*

“ *Resolved,*

“ That, by the *original compact*, the government of this realm is by a *junto*, and a King, or Queen; but the *administration* solely in the *junto*.

“ *Ordered,*

“ That a bill be brought in for farther limiting the prerogative.

“ *Ordered,*

“ That it be a standing order of this house, that the merit of elections be not determined by the number of voices, or right of electors, but by weight; and that one *Whig* shall weigh down ten *Tories*.

“ A motion being made, and the question being put, that when a *Whig* is detected of manifest bribery, and his competitor, being a *Tory*, hath ten to one a majority, there shall be a new election; it passed in the negative.

“ *Resolved.*

“ That for a King or Queen of this realm to read or examine a paper brought them to be signed by a *junto* minister, is arbitrary and illegal, and a violation of the liberties of the people.

These, and the like reformatations, would in all probability be the first fruits of the *Whigs resurrection*; and what structures such able artists might in a short time build upon such foundations, I leave others to conjecture. All hopes of a *peace* cut off; the nation industriously involved in farther debts, to a degree that none would dare undertake the management of affairs, but those whose interest lay in ruining the constitution. I do not see, how the wisest prince under such necessities could be able to extricate himself. Then as to the *church*; the bishops would by degrees be dismissed, first from the parliament, next from their revenues, and at last from their office; and the clergy, instead of their idle claim of *independency* on the state, would be forced to depend for their daily bread on every individual. But what system of future government was designed; whether it were already digested, or would have been left for time and incidents to mature, I shall not now examine. Only upon this occasion I cannot help reflecting

flecting on a fact, which it is probable the reader knows as well as myself. There was a picture drawn some time ago, representing five persons as large as the life, sitting in council together, like a *pentarchy*; a void space was left for a sixth, which was to have been the Queen, to whom they intended that honour: but her Majesty having since fallen under their displeasure, they have made a shift to croud in *two better friends* in her place, which makes it a complete *heptarchy**. This piece is now in the country, reserved until better times; and hangs in a hall among the pictures of Cromwell, Bradshaw, Ireton, and some other predecessors.

I must now desire leave to say something to a gentleman, who hath been pleased to publish a discourse against a paper of mine relating to the convocation. He promiset^h to *set me right without any undue reflections, or indecent language*. I suppose he means, in comparison with others, who pretend to answer the *Examiner*. So far he is right; but if he thinks he hath behaved himself as becomes a candid antagonist, I believe he is mistaken. He says in his title-page, *my representations are unfair, and my reflections unjust*: and his conclusion is yet more severe; where he *doubts I and my friends are enraged against the Dutch, because they preserved us from Popery and arbitrary power at the revolution; and since that time from being over-run by the exorbitant power of France, and becoming a prey to the pretender*. Because this author seems in general to write with an honest meaning, I would seriously put to him the question, whether he thinks, *I and my friends are for Popery, arbitrary power, France, and the pretender?* I omit other instances of smaller moment, which however do not suit in my opinion with *due reflection, or decent language*. The fact relating to the *convocation* came from a good hand; and I do not find this author differs from me in any material circumstance about it. My reflections were no more, than what might be obvious to any other gentleman, who had heard of their late proceedings. If the notion be

* This heptarchy was the serpent with seven heads, mentioned in N^o 21. 22. *Hawkes*.

right, which this author gives us of a lower house of *convocation*; it is a very melancholy one, and to me seems utterly inconsistent with that of a body of men whom he owns to have a *negative*: and therefore, since a great majority of the clergy differ from him in several points he advances, I shall rather chuse to be of their opinion than his. I fancy, when the *whole synod met in one house*, as this writer affirms, they were upon a better foot with their bishops; and therefore, whether this treatment, so extremely *de haut en bas*, since their exclusion be suitable to primitive custom or primitive humility towards brethren, is not my business to inquire. One may allow the divine, or apostolic right of Episcopacy, and its great superiority over presbyters; and yet dispute the methods of exercising the latter, which, being of human institution, are subject to incroachments and usurpations. I know every clergyman in a diocese hath a great deal of dependence upon his bishop, and owes him canonical obedience: but I was apt to think, that when the whole representative of the clergy met in a synod, they were considered in another light; at least since they are allowed to have a *negative*. If I am mistaken, I desire to be excused, as talking out of my trade; only there is one thing wherein I entirely differ from this author: since in the disputes about privileges *one side must recede*; where so very few privileges remain, it is a hundred to one odds, that the incroachments are not on the inferior clergy's side; and no man can blame them for insisting on the small number that is left. There is one fact wherein I must take occasion to set this author right; that the person * who first moved the Queen to remit the first-fruits and tenths to the clergy, was an *eminent instrument in the late turn of affairs*; and, as I am told, hath lately prevailed to have the same favour granted for the clergy of *Ireland* †.

But I must beg leave to inform this author, that my paper is not intended for the management of controversy; which would be of very little import to most readers, and

* Earl of Oxford, Lord Treasurer.

† This was done by the author's solicitation. See his letters to Archbishop King, vol. 8. p. 212. - 217.

only mispend time that I would gladly employ to better purposes. For where it is a man's business to entertain a whole roomfull, it is unmannerly to apply himself to a particular person, and turn his back upon the rest of the company.

No 26. Thursday, February 1. 1710.

Ea autem est gloria, laus recte factorum, magnorumque in rempublicam meritorum: quæ cum optimi cujusque, tum etiam multitudinis, testimonio comprobatur.

I AM thinking, what a mighty advantage it is to be entertained as a writer to a *ruined cause*. I remember a *fanatic preacher*, who was inclined to come into the church, and take orders; but upon mature thoughts was diverted from that design, when he considered that the collections of the *godly* were a much heartier and readier penny, than he could get by wrangling with tithes. He certainly had reason; and the two cases are parallel. If you write in defence of a fallen party, you are maintained by contribution, as a necessary person: you have little more to do than to carp and cavil at those who hold the pen on the other side: you are sure to be celebrated and caressed by all your party, to a man: you may affirm and deny what you please without truth or probability, since it is but loss of time to contradict you. Besides, *commiseration* is often on your side; and you have a pretence to be thought honest and disinterested for adhering to friends in distress: after which, if your friends ever happen to turn up again, you have a strong fund of *merit* towards making your fortune. Then you never fail to be well furnished with materials; every one bringing in his *quota*; and falsehood being naturally more plentiful than truth: not to mention the wonderful delight of libelling men in power, and hugging yourself in a corner with mighty satisfaction for what you have done.

It is quite otherwise with us, who engage as volunteers
in

in the service of a flourishing ministry, in full credit with the Queen, and beloved by the people; because they have no sinister ends or dangerous designs; but pursue with steadiness and resolution the true interest of both. Upon which account they little want, or desire, our assistance; and we may write till the world is weary of reading, without having our pretences allowed either to a *place*, or a *pension*: besides, we are refused the common *benefit of the party*, to have our works cried up of course; the readers of our side being as ungente, and hard to please, as if we writ against them: and our papers never make their way in the world, but barely in proportion to their merit. The design of their labours, who write on the conquered side, is likewise of greater importance than *ours*: they are like cordials for dying men, which must be repeated; whereas ours are, in the scripture-phrase, but *meat for babes*: at least, all I can pretend, is to undeceive the ignorant, and those at a distance; but their task is to keep up the sinking spirits of a whole party.

After such reflections, I cannot be angry with those gentlemen for perpetually writing against me; it furnishes them largely with topics; and is besides their proper business: neither is it affectation, or altogether *scorn*, that I do not reply. But as things are, we both act suitable to our several provinces: mine is by laying open some corruptions in the late management, to set those who are ignorant, right in their opinions of persons and things: it is theirs to cover with *fig-leaves* all the faults of their friends, as well as they can. When I have produced my facts, and offered my arguments, I have nothing farther to advance; it is their office to deny, and disprove; and then let the world decide. If *I* were as *they*, my chief endeavour should certainly be to batter down the *Examiner*; therefore I cannot but approve their design. Besides, they have indeed another reason for barking incessantly at this paper: they have in their prints openly taxed a most ingenious person, as author of it; one who is in great, and very deserved, reputation with the world; both on account of his poetical works, and his talents for public business. They were wise enough to consider, what a sanction it would give their performances, to fall under the animadversion of

of such a pen; and therefore used all the forms of provocation commonly practised by little obscure pedants, who are fond of distinguishing themselves by the fame of an adversary. So nice a taste have these judicious critics in pretending to discover an author by his style, and manner of thinking! not to mention the justice and candour of exhausting all the stale topics of scurrility in reviling a paper, and then flinging at a venture the whole load upon one who is entirely innocent; and whose greatest fault perhaps is too much *gentleness* towards a party, from whose *leaders* he hath received quite contrary treatment.

The concern I have for the ease and reputation of so deserving a gentleman, hath at length forced me, much against my interest and inclination, to let these angry people know, who is *not* the author of the *Examiner*. For I observed the opinion began to spread; and I chose rather to sacrifice the honour I received by it, than let injudicious people intitle him to a performance, that perhaps he might have reason to be ashamed of: still faithfully promising never to disturb those worthy advocates; but suffer them in quiet to roar on at the *Examiner*, if they or their party find any ease in it; as physicians say there is to people in torment, such as men in the gout, or women in labour.

However, I must acknowledge myself indebted to them for one hint, which I shall now pursue, although in a different manner. Since the fall of the late ministry I have seen many papers filled with their encomiums; I conceive, in imitation of those who write the lives of famous men, where after their deaths immediately follow their characters. When I saw the poor Virtues thus dealt at random, I thought the disposers had flung their names, like *valentines*, into a *hat* to be drawn, as fortune pleased, by the *junto* and their friends. Their Crassus drew *Liberality* and *Gratitude*; Fulvia, *Humility* and *Gentleness*; Clodius, *Piety* and *Justice*; Gracchus, *Loyalty* to his prince; Cinna, *Love of his country and constitution*; and so of the rest. Or, to quit this allegory, I have often seen of late the whole set of discarded statesmen celebrated by their judicious hirelings for those very qualities which their admirers owned they chiefly wanted. Did these *heroes* put off and
lock

lock up their *virtues* when they came into employment ; and have they now resumed them since their dismissions ? If they wore them, I am sure it was *under their greatness*, and without ever once convincing the world of their *visibleness* or *influence*.

But why should not the present ministry find a pen to praise them, as well as the last ? This is what I shall now undertake ; and it may be more impartial in me, from whom they have deserved so little. I have, *without being called*, served them half a year in quality of *champion* ; and, by help of the Queen, and a majority of nine in ten of the kingdom, have been able to protect them against a routed cabal of hated politicians with a dozen of scribblers at their head : yet, so far have they been from rewarding me suitable to my deserts, that to this day they never so much as sent to the *printer* to inquire who I was ; although I have known a time and ministry, where a person of half my merit and consideration would have had fifty *promises* ; and, in the mean time, a *pension* settled on him, whereof the *first quarter should be honestly paid*. Therefore my resentments shall so far prevail, that in praising those who are now at the head of affairs, I shall at the same time take notice of their defects. Was any man more eminent in his profession than the present Lord Keeper *, or more distinguished by his eloquence and great abilities in the house of Commons ? and will not his enemies allow him to be fully equal to the great station he now adorns ? But then it must be granted, that he is wholly ignorant in the speculative, as well as practical part of *polygamy* ; he knows not how to metamorphose a sober man into a *lunatic* : he is no *freethinker* in religion, nor hath courage to be *patron* of an atheistical book, while he is guardian of the Queen's conscience. Although after all, to speak my private opinion, I cannot think these such mighty objections to his character, as some would pretend.

The person who now presides at the council †, is de-

* Sir Simon Harcourt, afterwards Lord Harcourt, was made Lord Keeper upon the resignation of Lord Chancellor Cowper. *Hawkesf.*

† Laurence Hyde, late Earl of Rochester, in the room of Lord Somers. *Hawkesf.*

scended from a great and honourable father, not *from the dregs of the people* ; he was at the head of the treasury for some years, and rather chose to enrich his prince than himself. In the height of favour and credit, he sacrificed the greatest employment in the kingdom to his *conscience and honour* ; he hath always been firm in his loyalty and religion, zealous for supporting the prerogative of the crown, and preserving the liberties of the people. But then his best friends must own, that he is neither *Deist* nor *Socinian* ; he hath never conversed with Toland to open and enlarge his thoughts, and dispel the prejudices of education ; nor was he ever able to arrive at that perfection of gallantry, *to ruin and imprison the husband, in order to keep the wife without disturbance.*

The present Lord Steward * hath been always distinguished for his wit and knowledge ; is of consummate wisdom and experience in affairs ; hath continued constant to the true interest of the nation, which he espoused from the beginning ; and is every way qualified to support the dignity of his office : but in point of *oratory*, must give place to his predecessor.

The Duke of Shrewsbury † was highly instrumental in bringing about the *revolution*, in which service he freely exposed his life and fortune. He hath ever been the favourite of the nation, being possessed of all the amiable qualities that can accomplish a great man ; but in the agreeableness and fragrancy of his person, and the profoundness of his politics, must be allowed to fall very short of — .

Mr Harley ‡ had the honour of being chosen Speaker successively to three parliaments. He was the first of late years, who ventured to restore the forgotten custom of treating his prince with *duty* and *respect* ; easy and disengaged in private conversation with such a weight of affairs upon his shoulders ; of great learning, and as great a fa-

* The Duke of Buckingham and Normanby, in the room of the Duke of Devonshire. *Hawkesf.*

† Lord Chamberlain, in the room of the Marquis of Kent. *Hawkesf.*

‡ Chancellor of the Exchequer upon the removal of Lord Godolphin. *Hawkesf.*

vourer and protector of it; intrepid by nature, as well as by the consciousness of his own integrity; and a despiser of money; pursuing the true interest of his prince and country against all obstacles; sagacious to view into the remotest consequences of things, by which all difficulties fly before him; a firm friend, and a placable enemy; sacrificing his justest resentments, not only to public good, but to common intercession and acknowledgment. Yet with all these virtues, it must be granted, there is some mixture of human infirmity. His greatest admirers must confess his skill at *cards* and *dice* to be very low and superficial; in *horse-racing* he is utterly ignorant; then to save a few millions to the public, he never regards how many worthy *citizens* he hinders from making up their plumb*. And surely there is one thing never to be forgiven him; that he delights to have his table filled with *black coats*, whom he useth as if they were *gentlemen*.

My Lord Dartmouth † is a man of letters, full of good sense, good nature, and honour; of strict virtue and regularity in his life; but labours under one great defect, that he treats his clerks with more civility and good manners, than others in his station have done the Queen.

Omitting some others, I shall close this character of the present *ministry* with that of Mr St John ‡, who, from his youth, applying those admirable talents of nature and improvements of art to public business, grew eminent in court and parliament at an age, when the generality of mankind is employed in trifles and folly. It is to be lamented, that he hath not yet procured himself a *busy, important countenance*; nor learned that profound part of wisdom, to be *difficult of access*. Besides, he hath clearly mistaken the true use of *books*, which he hath thumbed and spoiled with reading, when he ought to have multiplied them on his shelves: not like a great man of my acquaintance, who knew a book by the back better than a friend by the face; although he had never conversed with the former, and often with the latter.

* A cant word in England for 100,000 l.

† He succeeded the Earl of Sunderland as Secretary of State. *Hawkes*.

‡ Secretary of State in the room of Mr Henry Boyle. He was afterwards created Lord Viscount Bolingbroke.

No 27. Thursday, February 8. 1710.

*Caput est in omni procuratione negotii et muneris publici,
ut avaritiæ pellatur etiam minima suspicio.*

THere is no vice which mankind carries to such wild extremes as that of *avarice*. Those two which seem to rival it in this point, are lust and ambition; but the former is checked by difficulties and diseases, destroys itself by its own pursuits, and usually declines with old age; and the latter requiring courage, conduct, and fortune in a higher degree, and meeting with a thousand dangers and oppositions, succeeds too seldom in an age to fall under common observation. Or, avarice is perhaps the same passion with ambition; only placed in more ignoble and dastardly minds, by which the object is changed from *power* to *money*. Or it may be that one man pursues power in order to wealth; and another wealth in order to power; which last is the safer way, although longer about; and, suiting with every period, as well as condition of life, is more generally followed.

However it be, the extremes of this passion are certainly more frequent than of any other; and often to a degree so absurd and ridiculous, that if it were not for their frequency, they could hardly obtain belief. The *stage*, which carries other follies and vices beyond nature and probability, falls very short in the representations of *avarice*; nor are there any extravagancies in this kind described by ancient or modern comedies, which are not outdone by an hundred instances, commonly told among ourselves.

I am ready to conclude from hence, that a vice which keeps so firm a hold upon human nature, and governs it with so unlimited a tyranny, since it cannot wholly be eradicated, ought at least to be confined to particular objects; to thrift and penury, to private fraud and extortion, and never suffered to prey upon the public; and

should certainly be rejected as the most unqualifying circumstance for any employment, where bribery and corruption can possibly enter.

If the mischiefs of this vice in a public station were confined to enriching only those particular persons employed, the evil would be more supportable: but it is usually quite otherwise. When a *steward* defrauds his *lord*, he must connive at the *rest of the servants*, while they are following the same practice in their several spheres: so that in some families you may observe a subordination of knaves in a link downwards to the very *helper* in the stables, all cheating by concert, and with impunity. And even if this were all, perhaps the master could bear it without being undone; but it so happens, that for every shilling the servant gets by his iniquity, the master loseth twenty; the perquisites of servants being but small compositions for suffering shopkeepers to bring in what bills they please. It is exactly the same thing in a state: an avaricious man in office is in confederacy with the whole *clan* of his district, or dependence; which in modern terms of art is called *to live and let live*; and yet *their* gains are the smallest part of the public's loss. Give a guinea to a knavish *land-waiter*, and he shall connive at the merchant for cheating the Queen of an hundred. A *brewer* gives a bribe to have the privilege of selling drink to the navy; but the fraud is an hundred times greater than the bribe, and the public is at the whole loss.

Moralists make two kinds of avarice: that of *Catiline*, *alieni appetens, sui profusus*; and the other more generally understood by that name, which is the endless desire of hoarding. But I take the former to be more dangerous in a state, because it mingles with ambition, which I think the latter cannot; for although the same breast may be capable of admitting both, it is not able to cultivate them; and where the love of heaping wealth prevails, there is not, in my opinion, much to be apprehended from ambition. The disgrace of that sordid vice is sooner apt to spread than any other; and is always attended with the hatred and scorn of the people; so that whenever those two passions happen to meet in the same subject, it is not unlikely that Providence hath placed *avarice* to be a check upon

upon *ambition*; and I have reason to think, *some great ministers of state* have been of my opinion.

The divine authority of holy writ, the precepts of philosophers, the lashes and ridicule of satirical poets, have been all employed in exploding this insatiable thirst of money; and all equally controlled by the daily practice of mankind. Nothing now remains to be said upon the occasion; and if there did, I must remember my character, that I am an *examiner* only, and not a *reformer*.

However, in those cases where the frailties of particular men do nearly affect the public welfare, such as a prime minister of state, or a great general of an army; methinks there should be some expedient contrived to let them know impartially, what is the world's opinion in the point. Encompassed with a croud of depending flatterers, they are many degrees blinder to their own faults, than the common infirmities of human nature can plead in their excuse. Advice dares not to be offered, or is wholly lost, or returned with hatred: and whatever appears in public against their prevailing vice, goes for nothing; being either not applied, or passing only for libel and slander, proceeding from the malice and envy of party.

I have sometimes thought, that if I had lived at Rome in the time of the first *triumvirate*, I should have been tempted to write a letter, as from an unknown hand, to those three great men who had then usurped the sovereign power; wherein I would freely and sincerely tell each of them that fault which I conceived was most odious, and of worst consequence to the commonwealth. That to Crassus should have been sent to him after his conquests in Mesopotamia, and in the following terms.

“ TO MARCUS CRASSUS, health.

“ IF you apply, as you ought, what I now write, you
 “ will be more obliged to me than to all the world,
 “ hardly excepting your parents or your country. I in-
 “ tend to tell you, without disguise or prejudice, the opi-
 “ nion which the world hath entertained of you; and to
 “ let you see, I write this without any sort of ill-will, you
 “ shall first hear the sentiments they have to your advan-

" tage. No man disputes the gracefulness of your person;
 " you are allowed to have a good and clear understand-
 " ing, cultivated by the knowledge of men and manners,
 " although not by *literature*; you are no ill orator in the
 " senate; you are said to excel in the art of bridling and
 " subduing your anger, and stifling or concealing your re-
 " sentments; you have been a most successful general,
 " of long experience, great conduct, and much personal
 " courage; you have gained many important victories for
 " the commonwealth, and forced the strongest towns in
 " Mesopotamia to surrender, for which frequent *supplica-*
 " *tions* have been decreed by the senate. Yet with all
 " these qualities, and this merit, give me leave to say,
 " you are neither beloved by the *patricians* nor *plebeians*
 " at home, nor by the officers or private soldiers of your
 " own army abroad. And do you know, Crassus, that
 " this is owing to a fault, of which you may cure your-
 " self by one minute's reflection? What shall I say? You
 " are the richest person in the commonwealth; you have
 " no male child; your daughters are all married to weal-
 " thy *patricians*; you are far in the decline of life, and
 " yet you are deeply stained with that odious and ignoble
 " vice of *covetousness*. It is affirmed, that you descend
 " even to the meanest and most scandalous degrees of it;
 " and while you possess so many millions, while you are
 " daily acquiring so many more, you are solicitous how to
 " save a single *sesterce*; of which an hundred ignominious
 " instances are produced, and in all men's mouths. I will
 " only mention that passage of the *buskins**, which, af-
 " ter abundance of persuasion, you would hardly suffer
 " to be cut from your legs, when they were so wet and
 " cold, that to have kept them on would have endanger-
 " ed your life.

" Instead of using the common arguments to dissuade
 " you from this weakness, I will endeavour to convince
 " you, that you are really guilty of it; and leave the cure
 " to your own good sense. For perhaps you are not yet
 " persuaded that this is your crime; you have probably
 " never yet been reproached for it to your face; and what

* Wet stockings.

" you are now told comes from one unknown, and it may
 " be from an enemy. You will allow yourself indeed to
 " be prudent in the management of your fortune ; you are
 " not a prodigal, like Clodius, or Catiline ; but surely that
 " deserves not the name of *avarice*. I will inform you
 " how to be convinced. Disguise your person, go among
 " the common people in Rome, introduce discourses about
 " yourself, inquire your own character : do the same in
 " your camp ; walk about it in the evening, hearken at
 " every tent ; and if you do not hear every mouth cen-
 " suring, lamenting, cursing this vice in you, and even you
 " for this vice, conclude yourself innocent. If you be not
 " yet persuaded, send for Atticus, Servius Sulpicius, Ca-
 " to, or Brutus ; they are all your friends ; conjure them
 " to tell you ingenuously, which is your great fault, and
 " which they would chiefly wish you to correct ; if they
 " do not agree in their verdict, *in the name of all the*
 " *gods*, you are acquitted.

" When your adversaries reflect how far you are gone
 " in this vice, they are tempted to talk as if we owed
 " our successes, not to your courage or conduct, but to
 " those *veteran* troops you command ; who are able to
 " conquer under any general, with so many brave and
 " experienced officers to lead them. Besides, we know
 " the consequences your avarice hath often occasioned.
 " The soldier hath been starving for bread, surrounded
 " with plenty, and in an enemy's country ; but all under
 " *safeguards* and *contributions* ; which, if you had some-
 " times pleased to have exchanged for *provisions*, might,
 " at the expense of a few talents in a campaign, have so
 " endeared you to the army, that they would have de-
 " sired you to lead them to the utmost limits of Asia.
 " But you rather chose to confine your conquests within
 " the fruitful country of Mesopotamia, where plenty of
 " money might be raised. How far that fatal greediness
 " of gold may have influenced you in breaking off the
 " treaty with the old Parthian King Orodes, you best can
 " tell ; your enemies charge you with it ; your friends
 " offer nothing material in your defence ; and all agree,
 " there is nothing so pernicious, which the extremes of
 " avarice may not be able to inspire.

“ The moment you quit this vice, you will be a truly great man; and still there will imperfections enough remain to convince us, you are not a god. Farewell.”

Perhaps a letter of this nature, sent to so reasonable a man as Crassus, might have put him upon *examining* into himself, and correcting that little sordid appetite so utterly inconsistent with all pretences to *heroism*. A youth in the heat of blood may plead, with some shew of reason, that he is not able to subdue his lusts; an ambitious man may use the same arguments for his love of power, or perhaps other arguments to justify it: but excess of avarice hath neither of these pleas to offer; it is not to be justified, and cannot pretend temptation for excuse. Whence can the temptation come? Reason disclaims it altogether; and it cannot be said to lodge in the *blood*, or the *animal spirits*. So that I conclude, *no man of true valour, and true understanding, upon whom this vice hath stolen unawares, when he is convinced he is guilty, will suffer it to remain in his breast an hour.*

N^o 28. Thursday, February 15. 1710.

Inultus ut tu riseris Cotytia?

An answer to the letter to the Examiner.

S I R,

London, Feb. 15. 1710-11.

ALthough I have wanted leisure to acknowledge the honour of a letter you was pleased to write to me about six months ago; yet I have been very careful in obeying some of your commands, and am going on as fast as I can with the rest. I wish you had thought fit to have conveyed them to me by a more private hand than that of the *printing-house*: for, although I was pleased with a pattern of style and spirit, which I proposed to imitate,

tate, yet I was sorry the world should be a witness how far I fell short in both.

I am afraid you did not consider, what an abundance of work you have cut out for me; neither am I at all comforted by the promise you are so kind to make, that when *I have performed my task, D——n shall blush in his grave among the dead, Walpole among the living, and even Volpone shall feel some remorse.* How the gentleman in his grave may have kept his countenance, I cannot inform you, having no acquaintance at all with the sexton: but for the *other two*, I take leave to assure you, there have not yet appeared the least signs of *blushing* or *remorse* in either, although *some very good opportunities* have offered, if they had thought fit to accept them: so that, with your permission, I had rather engage to continue this work until *they be in their graves* too; which I am sure will happen much sooner than the other.

You desire I would collect *some of those indignities offered last year to her Majesty.* I am ready to oblige you; and have got a pretty tolerable collection by me, which I am in doubt whether to publish by itself in a *large volume in folio*, or scatter them here and there occasionally in my papers. Although indeed I am sometimes thinking to stifle them altogether; because such a history will be apt to give foreigners a monstrous opinion of our country. But since it is your absolute opinion, that the world should be informed; I will, with the first occasion, pick out a few *choice instances*, and let them take their chance in the ensuing papers. I have likewise in my cabinet, certain quires of paper filled with facts of corruption, mismanagement, cowardice, treachery, avarice, ambition, and the like; with an alphabetical table, to save trouble. And perhaps you will not wonder at the care I take to be so well provided, when you consider the vast expense I am at. I feed weekly two or three *wit-starved* writers, who have no other visible support; besides several others, who live upon my offalls. In short, I am like a nurse, who suckles twins at one time, and hath, besides, *one or two whelps* constantly to draw her breasts.

I must needs confess, (and it is with grief I speak it), that I have been the innocent cause of a great circulation
of

of dulness: at the same time I have often wondered, how it hath come to pass, that these industrious people, after poring so constantly upon the *Examiner*, a paper writ with plain sense, and in a tolerable style, have made so little improvement. I am sure it would have fallen out quite otherwise with me: for by what I have seen of their performances, (and I am credibly informed, they are all of a piece), if I had perused them until now, I should have been fit for little, but to make an advocate in the same cause.

You, Sir, perhaps will wonder, as most others do, what end these angry folks propose in writing perpetually against the *Examiner*: it is not to beget a better opinion of the late ministry, or with any hope to convince the world, that I am in the wrong in any one fact I relate; they know all that to be lost labour, and yet their design is important enough: they would fain provoke me, by all sorts of methods within the length of their capacity, to answer their paper; which would render mine wholly useless to the public: for if it once came to rejoinder and reply, we should be all upon a level; and then their work would be done.

There is one gentleman * indeed, who hath written three small pamphlets upon the *management of the war*, and *the treaty of peace*. These I had intended to have bestowed a paper in *examining*; and could easily have made it appear, that whatever he says of truth, relates not at all to the evils we complain of, or controls one syllable of what I have ever advanced. Nobody that I know of did ever dispute the Duke of Marlborough's courage, conduct, or success; they have been always unquestionable, and will continue to be so in spite of the malice of his enemies, or, which is yet more, the *weakness of his advocates*. The nation only wishes to see him taken out of ill hands, and put into better. But what is all this to the conduct of the late ministry, the shameful mismanagements in Spain, or the wrong steps in the treaty of peace; the secret of which will not bear the light, and is, consequently, by this author very poorly defended? These, and many other things, I would have shewn; but upon second thoughts, determined to have it done in a discourse by itself, rather

* Dr Hart, afterwards Bishop of Chichester.

than

than take up room here, and break into the design of this paper, from whence I have resolved to banish controversy as much as possible. But the postscript to his third pamphlet was enough to disgust me from having any dealings at all with such a writer; unless that part was left to some *footman* he hath picked up among the boys who follow the camp, whose character it would suit much better than that of the supposed author: at least the foul language, the idle, impotent menaces, and the gross perverting of an innocent expression in the fourth *Examiner*, joined to that respect I shall ever have for the function of a *divine*, would incline me to believe so. But when he turns off his *footman*, and disclaims that postscript, I will tear it out, and see how far the rest deserves to be considered.

But, Sir, I labour under a much greater difficulty, upon which I should be glad to hear your advice. I am worried on one side by the *Whigs*, for being too *severe*; and by the *Tories* on the other, for being too *gentle*. I have formerly hinted a complaint of this; but having lately received two peculiar letters, among many others, I thought nothing could better represent my condition, or the opinion which the warm men on both sides have of my conduct, than to send you a transcript of each. The former is exactly in these words.

“ To the EXAMINER.

“ Mr EXAMINER,

“ By your continual reflecting upon the conduct of the late ministry, and by your encomiums on the present, it is as clear as the sun at noon-day, that you are a *Jesuit* or *Nonjuror*, employed by the friends of the pretender to endeavour to introduce *Popery*, and *slavery*, and *arbitrary power*, and to infringe the sacred act for toleration of dissenters. Now, Sir, since the most ingenious authors, who write weekly against you, are not able to teach you better manners, I would have you to know, that those great and excellent men, as low as you think them at present, do not want friends that will

“ take

“ take the first proper occasion to *cut your throat*, as all
 “ such enemies to moderation ought to be served. It is
 “ well you have cleared another person from being author
 “ of your cursed libels ; although, d—m me, perhaps
 “ after all, that may be a *bamboozle* too. However, I
 “ hope we shall soon ferret you out. Therefore I advise
 “ you as a friend to let fall your pen, and retire betimes ;
 “ for our patience is now at an end. It is enough to lose
 “ our power and employments, without setting the whole
 “ nation against us. Consider, three years is the life of
 “ a *party* ; d—m me, *every dog hath his day*, and it will
 “ be your turn next : therefore take warning, and learn
 “ to *sleep in a whole skin* ; or, whenever we are upper-
 “ most, by G—d you shall find no mercy.”

The other letter was in the following terms.

“ To the EXAMINER.

“ S I R,

“ I AM a *country-member*, and constantly send a do-
 “ zen of your papers down to my *electors*. I have read
 “ them all, but I confess, not with the satisfaction I ex-
 “ pected. It is plain you know a great deal more than
 “ you write : why will you not let us have it all out ?
 “ We are told, that the Queen hath been a long time
 “ treated with insolence by those she hath most obliged.
 “ Pray, Sir, let us have a few good stories upon that
 “ head. We have been cheated of several millions ;
 “ why will not you set a mark on the knaves who are
 “ guilty, and shew us what ways they took to rob the pu-
 “ blic at such a rate ? Inform us, how we came to be dis-
 “ appointed of peace about two years ago. In short, turn
 “ the whole mystery of iniquity inside out, that every bo-
 “ dy may have a view of it. But above all, explain to
 “ us what was at the bottom of that same *impeachment* :
 “ I am sure I never liked it ; for at that very time a *dis-*
 “ *senting* preacher in our neighbourhood came often to see
 “ our parson ; it could be for no good, for he would walk
 “ about

“ about the barns and the stables, and desired to look in-
 “ to the church, as *who should say, These will shortly*
 “ *be mine*; and we all believed, he was then contriving
 “ some alterations against he got into possession. And I
 “ shall never forget that a *Whig justice* offered me then
 “ very high for my bishop’s lease. I must be so bold to tell
 “ you, Sir, that you are too favourable: I am sure there
 “ was no living in quiet for us, while they were in the *sad-*
 “ *dle*. I was turned out of the commission, and called a
 “ *Jacobite*, although it cost me a thousand pounds in join-
 “ ing with the Prince of Orange at the *revolution*. The
 “ discoveries I would have you make, are of some facts,
 “ for which they ought to be hanged; not that I value
 “ their heads, but I would see them exposed, which may
 “ be done upon the *owners shoulders* as well as upon a
 “ *pole*,” &c.

These, Sir, are the sentiments of a whole party on one
 side, and of considerable numbers on the other: however,
 taking the medium between these extremes, I think to go
 on as I have hitherto done, although I am sensible my paper
 would be more popular, if I did not lean too much to the
 favourable side. For nothing delights the people more
 than to see their oppressors humbled, and all their actions
 painted with proper colours, set out in open view: *Exactos*
tyrannos densum humeris bibit aure vulgus.

But as for the *Whigs*, I am in some doubt, whether this
 mighty concern they shew for the honour of the late mi-
 nistry, may not be affected; at least whether their masters
 will thank them for their zeal in such a cause. It is, I
 think, a known story of a gentleman who fought another
 for calling him *son of a whore*, that the lady desired her
 son to make no more quarrels upon that subject, *because*
it was true. For, pray, Sir, doth it not look like a jest,
 that such a pernicious crew, after draining our wealth, and
 discovering the most destructive designs against our church
 and state, instead of thanking fortune that they are got off
 safe in their persons and plunder, should hire these bullies
 of the pen to defend their reputations? I remember, I
 thought it the hardest case in the world, when a poor ac-
 quaintance of mine having fallen in among sharpers, where
 he

he lost all his money, and then complaining he was cheated, got a good beating into the bargain *for offering to affront gentlemen*. I believe the only reason why these purloiners of the public cause such a clutter to be made about their reputations, is to prevent inquisitions that might tend towards making them refund: like those women they call *shoplifters*, who, when they are challenged for their thefts, appear to be mighty angry and affronted for fear of being searched.

I will dismiss you, Sir, when I have taken notice of one particular. Perhaps you may have observed, in the tolerated factious papers of the week, that the Earl of Rochester is frequently reflected on for having been Ecclesiastical Commissioner, and Lord Treasurer, in the reign of the late K. James. The fact is true; and it will not be denied, to his immortal honour, that because he could not comply with the measures then taking, he resigned both those employments; of which the latter was immediately supplied by a commission, composed of two Popish Lords, and the present Earl of Godolphin.

N^o 29. Thursday, February 22. 1710.

Laus summa in fortunæ bonis, non extulisse se in potestate, non fuisse insolentem in pecunia, non se pratulisse aliis propter abundantiam fortuna.

I AM conscious to myself, that I write this paper with no other intention but that of doing good. I never received injury from the late ministry; nor advantage from the present, farther than in common with every good subject. There were among the former one or two, who must be allowed to have possessed very valuable qualities; but proceeding by a system of politics which our constitution could not suffer, and discovering a contempt of all religion, especially of that which hath been so happily established among us ever since the reformation; they seem

to

to have been justly suspected of no very good inclinations to either.

It is possible, that a man may speculatively prefer the constitution of another country, or an Utopia of his own, before that of the nation where he is born and lives; yet, from considering the dangers of innovation, the corruptions of mankind, and the frequent impossibility of reducing ideas to practice, he may join heartily in preserving the present order of things, and be a true friend to the government already settled. So in religion, a man may perhaps have little or none of it at heart; yet if he conceals his opinions, if he endeavours to make no proselytes, advances no impious tenets in writing or discourse; if, according to the common atheistical notion, he believes religion to be only a contrivance of politicians for keeping the vulgar in awe; and that the present model is better adjusted than any other to so useful an end; although the condition of such a man, as to his own future state, be very deplorable; yet Providence, which often works good out of evil, can make even such a man an instrument for contributing towards the preservation of the church.

On the other side, I take a state to be truly in danger, both as to its religion and government, when a set of ambitious politicians, bred up in a hatred to the constitution, and a contempt for all religion, are forced upon exerting these qualities in order to keep or increase their power, by widening their bottom, and taking in, like Mahomet, some principles from every party, that is in any way discontented at the present faith and settlement; which was manifestly our case. Upon this occasion, I remember to have asked some considerable *Whigs*, whether it did not bring a disreputation upon their body, to have the whole herd of Presbyterians, Independents, Atheists, Anabaptists, Deists, Quakers, and Socinians, openly and universally listed under their banners? They answered, that all this was absolutely necessary in order to make a balance against the *Tories*; and all little enough: for, indeed, it was as much as they could possibly do, although assisted with the absolute power of disposing every employment: while the bulk of the English gentry kept firm to their old principles in church and state.

But, notwithstanding what I have hitherto said, I am informed several among the *Whigs* continue still so refractory, that they will hardly allow the heads of their party to have entertained any designs of ruining the constitution; or that they would have endeavoured it, if they had continued in power. I beg their pardon, if I have discovered a secret; but who could imagine they ever intended it should be one after those *overt acts*, with which they thought fit to conclude their *farce*? But perhaps they now find it convenient to deny vigorously; that the question may remain, *Why was the old ministry changed?* which they urge on without ceasing, as if no occasion in the least had been given; but that all were owing to the insinuations of crafty men, practising upon the weakness of an easy prince: I shall therefore offer among an hundred one reason for this change, which I think would justify any monarch who ever reigned, for the like proceeding.

It is notorious enough, how highly princes have been blamed in the histories of all countries, particularly of our own, upon the account of their *minions*, who have been ever justly odious to the people for their insolence and avarice, and ingrossing the favours of their masters. Whoever hath been the least conversant in the English story, cannot but have heard of Gaveston, the Spencers, and some others, who, by the excess and abuse of their power, cost the princes they served, or rather governed, their crowns and lives. However, in the case of *minions*, it must at least be acknowledged, that the prince is pleased and happy, although his subjects be aggrieved; and he has the plea of friendship to excuse him, which is a disposition of generous minds. Besides, a wise *minion*, although he be haughty to others, is humble and insinuating to his master, and cultivates his favour by obedience and respect. But *our* misfortune hath been a great deal worse; we have suffered for some years under the oppression, the avarice, and insolence of those for whom the Queen had neither esteem nor friendship; who rather seemed to snatch their own dues, than receive the favour of their sovereign; and were so far from returning respect, that they forgot common good manners. They imposed on their prince, by urging the necessity of affairs of their own creating: they

first raised difficulties, and then offered them as arguments to keep themselves in power. They united themselves, against nature and principle, to a party they had always abhorred, and which was now content to come in upon any terms, leaving them and their creatures in full possession of the court: then they urged the formidable strength of that party, and the dangers which must follow by disobliging it. So that it seems almost a miracle, how a princess thus besieged on all sides could *alone* have courage and prudence enough to extricate herself.

And indeed there is a point of history relating to this matter, which well deserveth to be considered. When her Majesty came to the crown, she took into favour and employment several persons, who were esteemed the best friends of the old constitution; among whom none were reckoned farther gone in the *high-church* principles (as they are usually called) than two or three who had at that time most credit; and ever since, until within these few months, possessed all power at court. So that the first umbrage given to the *Whigs*, and the pretences for clamouring against France and the pretender, were derived from them. And I believe nothing appeared then more unlikely, than that such different opinions should ever incorporate; that party having upon former occasions treated those very persons with enmity enough. But some Lords then about court, and in the Queen's good graces, not able to endure those growing impositions upon the prince and people, presumed to interpose; and were consequently soon removed and disgraced. However, when a most exorbitant grant was proposed, antecedent to any visible merit, it miscarried in parliament for want of being seconded by those who had most credit in the house; and who, having always opposed the like excesses in a former reign, thought it their duty to do so still, to shew the world, that the dislike was not against persons but things. But this was to cross the *oligarchy* in the tenderest point; a point which outweighed all considerations of duty and gratitude to their prince, or regard to the constitution: and therefore, after having in several private meetings concerted measures with their old enemies, and granted as well as received conditions; they began to change their style and their countenance;

and to put it as a maxim in the mouths of their emissaries, that *England must be saved by Whigs*. This unnatural league was afterwards cultivated by another incident, I mean the *act of security*, and the consequences of it, which every body knows; when (to use the words of my correspondent *) *the sovereign authority was parcelled out among the faction, and made the purchase of indemnity for an offending minister*. Thus the union of the two kingdoms improved that between the ministry and the *Junco*, which was afterwards cemented by their mutual danger in that storm they so narrowly escaped about three years ago, but however was not quite perfected till Prince George's death †; and then they went lovingly on together, both satisfied with their several states, and at full liberty to gratify their predominant inclinations; the first, their avarice and ambition; the other, their models of innovation in church and state.

Therefore, whoever thinks fit to revive that baffled question, *Why was the late ministry changed?* may receive the following answer: That it was become necessary by the insolence and avarice of some about the Queen, who, in order to perpetuate their tyranny, had made a monstrous alliance with those who profess principles destructive to our religion and government. If this will not suffice; let him make an abstract of all the abuses I have mentioned in my former papers, and view them together; after which, if he still remain unsatisfied, let him suspend his opinion a few weeks longer. Although, after all, I think the question as trifling as that of the Papists, when they ask us, *Where was our religion before Luther?* And indeed the ministry was changed for the same reasons that religion was reformed; because a thousand corruptions had crept into the *discipline and doctrine* of the *state* by the pride, the avarice, the fraud, and the ambition of those *who administered to us in secular affairs*.

I heard myself censured the other day in a coffeehouse for seeming to glance in the letter to Crassus against a great man, who is still in employment, and likely to

* Letter to the Examiner.

† Prince George of Denmark, husband to the Queen.

continue so. What if I had really intended that such an application should be given it? I cannot perceive how I could be justly blamed for so gentle a reproof. If I saw a handsome young fellow going to a ball at court with a great *smut* upon his face, could he take it ill in me to point out the place, and desire him, with abundance of good words, to pull out his handkerchief and wipe it off; or bring him to a glass, where he might plainly see it with his own eyes? Doth any man think I shall suffer my pen to inveigh against vices, only because they are charged upon persons who are no longer in power? Every body knows, that certain vices are more or less pernicious according to the stations of those who possess them. For example, lewdness and intemperance are not of so bad consequences in a town-rake as in a divine; cowardice in a lawyer is more supportable than in an officer of the army. If I should find fault with an admiral, because he wanted *politeness*; or an alderman, for not understanding Greek; that indeed would be to go out of the way for occasion of quarrelling. But excessive avarice in a general is, I think, the greatest defect he can be liable to, next to the want of courage and conduct, and may be attended with the most ruinous consequences, as it was in Crassus, who to that vice alone owed the destruction of himself and his army. It is the same thing in praising mens excellencies; which are more or less valuable, as the person you commend hath occasion to employ them. A man may perhaps mean honestly; yet if he be not able to spell, he shall never have my vote to be a secretary. Another may have wit and learning in a post where honesty, with plain common sense, are of much more use. You may praise a soldier for his skill at *chess*, because it is said to be a military game, and the emblem of drawing up an army; but this to a treasurer would be no more a compliment, than if you called him a *gamester*, or a *jockey*.

P. S. I have received a letter relating to Mr Greenshields; the person that sent it may know, that I will say something to it in the next paper.

N^o 30. Thursday, March 1. 1710.

Quæ enim domus tam stabilis, quæ tam firma civitas est, quæ non odiis atque dissidiis funditus possit everti?

IF we examine what societies of men are in closest union among themselves, we shall find them either to be those who are engaged in some evil design, or who labour under one common misfortune. Thus the troops of *banditti* in several countries abroad, the knots of *highwaymen* in our own nation, the several tribes of *sharpers*, *thieves*, and *pickpockets*, with many others, are so firmly knit together, that nothing is more difficult than to break or dissolve their several *gangs*: so likewise those who are fellow-sufferers under any misfortune, whether it be in reality or opinion, are usually contracted into a very strict union; as we may observe in the *Papists* throughout this kingdom under those real difficulties which are justly put on them; and in the several schisms of *Presbyterians*, and other sects, under that grievous persecution of the modern kind, called, *want of power*. And the reason why such confederacies are kept so sacred and inviolable, is very plain; because in each of those cases I have mentioned, the whole body is moved by one spirit in pursuit of one general end, and the interest of individuals is not crossed by each other, or by the whole.

Now, both these motives are joined to unite the *high-flying Whigs* at present: they have been always engaged in an *evil design*, and of late they are fast, or rivetted by that terrible calamity, the loss of power. So that whatever design a mischievous crew of dark confederates may possibly entertain, who will stop at no means to compass them, may be justly apprehended from these.

On the other side, those who wish well to the public, and would gladly contribute to its service, are apt to differ in their opinions about the methods of promoting it; and when their party flourishes, are sometimes envious at those in power; ready to overvalue their own merit, and

be

be impatient until it be rewarded by the measure they have prescribed for themselves. There is a farther topic of contention, which a ruling party is apt to fall into in relation to *retrospections*, and inquiry into past miscarriages; wherein *some* are thought too warm and zealous, *others* too cool and remiss; while in the mean time these divisions are industriously fomented by the discarded faction; which, although it be an old practice, hath been much improved in the schools of the *Jesuits*, who, when they despaired of perverting this nation to *Popery* by arguments or plots against the state, sent their emissaries to subdivide us into schisms. And this expedient is now with great propriety taken up by our men of *incensed moderation*; because they suppose themselves able to attack the strongest of our subdivisions, and to subdue us one after another. Nothing better resembles this proceeding, than that famous combat between the Horatii and Curiatii; where two of the former being killed, the third, who remained entire and untouched, was able to kill his three wounded adversaries, after he had divided them by a stratagem. I well know with how tender a hand all this should be touched; yet at the same time I think it my duty to *warn* the friends, as well as *expose* the enemies of the public weal; and to begin preaching up *union* upon the first suspicion, that any steps are made to disturb it.

But the two chief subjects of discontent, which upon most great changes in the management of public affairs are apt to breed differences among those who are in possession, are what I have just now mentioned; a desire of punishing the corruption of former managers; and the rewarding *merit* among those who have been any way instrumental or consenting to the change. The first of these is a point so nice, that I shall purposely wave it: but the latter I take to fall properly within my district. By *merit* I here understand that value which every man puts upon his own deservings from the public. And I believe, there could not be a more difficult employment found out, than that of paymaster-general to this sort of *merit*; or a more noisy, crouded place, than a court of *Judicature* erected to settle and adjust every man's claim upon that article. I imagine, if this had fallen into the fancy of the ancient poets, they

they would have dressed it up after their manner into an agreeable fiction; and given us a genealogy and description of *merit*, perhaps not very different from that which follows.

A poetical genealogy and description of MERIT.

“That *True Merit* was the son of Virtue and Honour;
 “but that there was likewise a spurious child, who usurped
 “the name, and whose parents were Vanity and Impu-
 “dence. That at a distance there was a great resem-
 “blance between them, and they were often mistaken
 “for each other. That the *bastard issue* had a loud
 “*shrill voice*, which was perpetually employed in *cra-*
 “*vings* and *complaints*; while the other never spoke
 “louder than a *whisper*, and was often so bashful, that
 “he could not speak at all. That in all great assemblies
 “the *False Merit* would step before the *True*, and stand
 “just in his way; was constantly at court, or great mens
 “*levées*, or whispering in some minister’s ear. That the
 “more you fed him, the more hungry and importunate
 “he grew. That he often passed for the true son of
 “Virtue and Honour, and the genuine for an impostor.
 “That he was born distorted and a dwarf, but by force
 “of art appeared of a handsome shape, and taller than
 “the usual size; and that none but those who were wise
 “and good as well as vigilant, could discover his little-
 “ness or deformity. That the *True Merit* had been often
 “forced to the indignity of applying to the *False* for his
 “credit with those in power, and to keep himself from
 “starving. That *False Merit* filled the *antechambers*
 “with a crew of his dependents and creatures, such as
 “*projectors*, *schematists*, *occasional converts to a party*,
 “*prostitute flatterers*, *starveling writers*, *buffoons*, *shal-*
 “*low politicians*, *empty orators*, and the like; who
 “all owned him for their patron, and grew discontented,
 “if they were not immediately fed.”

This metaphorical description of *false merit* is, I doubt, calculated for most countries in Christendom. As to our own, I believe it may be said with a sufficient reserve of charity,

charity, that we are fully able to reward every man among us according to his real deservings: and, I think, I may add without suspicion of flattery, that never any prince had a ministry with a better judgment to distinguish between *false* and *real merit*, than that which is now at the helm; or whose inclination, as well as interest, was greater to encourage the latter. And it ought to be observed, that those great and excellent persons we see at the head of affairs, are of the Queen's *own, personal, voluntary choice*; not forced upon her by any *insolent, overgrown favourite*, or by the pretended necessity of complying with an *unruly faction*.

Yet these are the persons whom those scandals to the press, in their daily pampulets and papers, openly revile at so ignominious a rate, as I believe was never tolerated before under any government. For surely no lawful power derived from a prince should be so far affronted, as to leave those who are in authority exposed to every scurrilous libeller: because in this point I make a mighty difference between those who are *in*, and those who are *out* of power; not upon any regard to their persons, but the stations they are placed in by the sovereign. And if my distinction be right, I think I might appeal to any man, whether if a stranger were to read the invectives which are daily published against the present ministry, and the outrageous fury of the authors against me for censuring the last, he would not conclude the *Whigs* to be at this time in full possession of power and favour, and the *Tories* entirely at mercy. But all this now ceases to be a wonder, since the Queen herself is no longer spared; witness the libel published some days ago, under the title of *A letter to Sir Jacob Banks*, where the reflections upon her Sacred Majesty are much more plain and direct, than ever the *Examiner* thought fit to publish against the most obnoxious persons in the *ministry*, discarded for endeavouring the ruin of their prince and country. Cæsar indeed threatened to hang the *pirates* for presuming to disturb him, while he was their prisoner aboard their ship. But it was Cæsar who did so, and he did it to a crew of *public robbers*; and it became the greatness of his spirit, for he lived to execute what he had threatened. Had
they

they been in his power, and sent such a message, it could be imputed to nothing but the extremes of impudence, folly, or madness.

I had a letter last week relating to Mr Greenshields, an *Episcopal* clergyman of Scotland, and the writer seems to be a gentleman of that part of Britain. I remember formerly to have read a printed account of Mr Greenshields's case, who has been prosecuted and silenced for no other reason besides reading divine service after the manner of the church of England to his own congregation, who desired it; though, as the gentleman who writes to me says, there is no law in Scotland against those meetings; and he adds, that the sentence pronounced against Mr Greenshields *will soon be affirmed, if some care be not taken to prevent it.* I am altogether uninformed in the particulars of this case, and besides, to treat it justly would not come within the compass of my paper; therefore I could wish the gentleman would undertake it in a discourse by itself; and I should be glad he would inform the public in one fact; whether *Episcopal* assemblies are freely allowed in Scotland? It is notorious, that abundance of their clergy fled from thence some years ago into England and Ireland, as from a persecution; but it was alledged by their enemies, that they refused to take the oaths to the government, which however none of them scrupled when they came among us. It is somewhat extraordinary to see our *Whigs* and *fanatics* keep such a stir about the *sacred act of toleration*, while their *brethren* will not allow a connivance in so near a neighbourhood; especially if what the gentleman insists on in his letter be true, that nine parts in ten of the nobility and gentry, and two in three of the commons, are *Episcopal*; of which one argument he offereth is the present choice of their representatives in both houses, though opposed to the utmost by the *preachings, threatenings, and anathemas* of the *kirk*. Such usage to a majority may, as he thinks, be of dangerous consequence; and I entirely agree with him. If these be the principles of the *high-kirk*, God preserve at least the southern parts from their tyranny.

N^o 31. Thursday, March 8. 1710.*Garrus aniles**Ex re fabellas.*

I HAD last week sent me by an unknown hand a passage out of Plato, with some hints how to apply it. That author puts a fable into the mouth of Aristophanes, with an account of the original of *love*: That mankind was at first created with four arms and legs, and all other parts double to what they are now; till Jupiter, as a punishment for his sins, cleft him in two with a thunderbolt; since which time we are always looking out for our other half: and this is the cause of *love*. But Jupiter threatened, that if they did not mend their manners, he would give them the other slit, and leave them to hop about in the shape of figures in *basso relievo*. The effect of this last threatening, my correspondent imagines, is now come to pass; and that as the first *splitting* was the original of *love*, by inclining us to search for our other half; so the second was the cause of *hatred* by prompting us to fly from our *other side*, and dividing the same *body* into two, gave each slice the name of a *party*.

I approve the fable and application, with this refinement upon it: for *parties* do not only split a nation, but every individual among them, leaving each but half their strength, and wit, and honesty, and good nature; but one eye and ear for their sight and hearing, and equally lopping the rest of the senses. Where *parties* are pretty equal in a state, no man can perceive one bad quality in his own, or good one in his adversaries. Besides, *party* being a dry, disagreeable subject, it renders conversation insipid, or sour, and confines invention. I speak not here of the leaders, but the insignificant crowd of followers in a party, who have been the instruments of mixing it in every condition and circumstance of life. As the zealots among the Jews bound the law about their foreheads, and wrists, and hems of their garments; so the women among us have got the distinguishing marks of *party* in their muffs,

muffs, their fans, and their furbelows. The *Whig* ladies put on their patches in a different manner from the *Tories*. They have made *schisms* in the *playhouse*, and each have their particular sides at the *opera*: and when a man changeth his *party*, he must infallibly count upon the loss of his mistress. I asked a gentleman the other day, how he liked such a lady? but he would not give me his opinion, till I had answered him whether she were a *Whig* or a *Tory*. Mr —, since he is known to visit the present ministry, and lay some time under a suspicion of writing the *Examiner*, is no longer a man of *wit*; his very *poems* have contracted a stupidity, many years after they were printed.

Having lately ventured upon a metaphorical genealogy of *Merit*, I thought it would be proper to add another of *Party*, or rather of *Faction* (to avoid mistake), not telling the reader whether it be my own, or a quotation, till I know how it is approved. But whether I read or dream-ed it, the fable is as follows.

“ *LIBERTY*, the daughter of Oppression, after having brought forth several fair children, as Riches, Arts, Learning, Trade, and many others, was at last delivered of her youngest daughter, called *FACTION*, whom Juno, doing the office of the midwife, distorted in its birth out of envy to the mother, from whence it derived its *peevishness* and sickly constitution. However, as it is often the nature of parents to grow most fond of their youngest and disagreeablest children, so it happened with Liberty, who doted on this daughter to such a degree, that by her good-will she would never suffer the girl to be out of her sight. As Miss *Faction* grew up, she became so termagant and froward, that there was no enduring her any longer in *heaven*. Jupiter gave her warning to be gone; and her mother, rather than forsake her, took the whole family down to *earth*. She landed first in Greece; was expelled by degrees through all the cities by her daughter's ill conduct: fled afterwards to Italy, and being banished thence, took shelter among the Goths, with whom she passed into most parts of Europe; but, being driven out every

“ where,

“ where, she began to lose esteem, and her daughter’s
 “ faults were imputed to herself: so that at this time she
 “ has hardly a place in the world to retire to. One would
 “ wonder what strange qualities this daughter must pos-
 “ sess, sufficient to blast the influence of so divine a mo-
 “ ther, and the rest of her children. She always affected
 “ to keep mean and scandalous company; valuing no bo-
 “ dy, but just as they agreed with her in every capricious
 “ opinion she thought fit to take up; and rigorously ex-
 “ acting compliance, though she changed her sentiments
 “ ever so often. Her great employment was to breed
 “ discord among friends and relations, and make up mon-
 “ strous alliances between those whose dispositions least
 “ resembled each other. Whoever offered to contradict
 “ her, though in the most insignificant trifle, she would be
 “ sure to distinguish by some ignominious *appellation*, and
 “ allow them to have neither honour, wit, beauty, learn-
 “ ing, honesty, or common sense. She intruded into all
 “ companies at the most unseasonable times; mixed at
 “ balls, assemblies, and other parties of pleasure, haunted
 “ every *coffeehouse* and *booksellers shop*, and by her per-
 “ petual talking filled all places with disturbance and con-
 “ fusion: she buzzed about the *merchant* in the Exchange,
 “ the *divine* in his *pulpit*, and the *shopkeeper* behind his
 “ counter. Above all, she frequented *public assemblies*,
 “ where she sat in the shape of an *obscene, ominous bird*,
 “ ready to prompt her *friends* as they spoke.”

If I understand this fable of *FACTION* right, it ought to be applied to those who set themselves up against the true interest and constitution of their country; which I wish the undertakers for the late ministry would please to take notice of, or tell us by what figure of speech they pretend to call so great and unforced a majority, with the Queen at *their* head, by the name of *the faction*; which is not unlike the phrase of the *Nonjurors*, who dignifying one or two deprived bishops and half a score clergymen of the same stamp with the title of the *Church of England*, exclude all the rest as *schismatics*; or like the *Presbyterians* laying the same accusation, with equal justice, against the established religion.

And here it may be worth inquiring, what are the true characteristics of a *faction*; or how it is to be distinguished from that great body of the people, who are friends to the constitution? The heads of a *faction* are usually a set of upstarts, or men ruined in their fortunes, whom some great change in a government did at first out of their obscurity produce upon the stage. They associate themselves with those who dislike the old establishment, religious and civil. They are full of new schemes in politics and divinity; they have an incurable hatred against the old nobility, and strengthen their party by dependents raised from the lowest of the people. They have several ways of working themselves into power; but they are sure to be called, when a corrupt administration wants to be supported against those who are endeavouring at a reformation; and they firmly observe that celebrated maxim of preserving *power* by the same arts by which it is attained. They act with the spirit of those who believe their time is but short; and their first care is to heap up immense riches at the public expense; in which they have two ends besides that common one of insatiable avarice, which are to make themselves necessary, and to keep the commonwealth in dependence. Thus they hope to compass their design, which is, instead of fitting their principles to the constitution, to alter and adjust the constitution to their own pernicious principles.

It is easy determining by this test, to which side the name of *faction* most properly belongs. But however, I will give them any system of law or regal government, from William the Conqueror to this present time, to try whether they can tally it with their late models; excepting only that of Cromwell, whom perhaps they will reckon for a monarch.

If the present ministry, and so great a majority in the parliament and kingdom, be only a *faction*, it must appear by some actions, which answer the idea we usually conceive from that word. Have they abused the prerogative of the prince, or invaded the rights and liberties of the subject? Have they offered at any dangerous innovations in church or state? Have they broached any doctrine of heresy, rebellion, or tyranny? Have any of them treated their sove-

reign

reign with insolence, ingrossed and sold all her favours, or deceived her by base, gross misrepresentations of her most faithful servants? These are the arts of a *faction*; and whoever hath practised them, they and their followers must take up with the name.

It is usually reckoned a *Whig* principle to appeal to the people; but that is only when they have been so wise as to poison their understandings beforehand. Will they now stand to this appeal, and be determined by their *vox populi*, to which side their title of *faction* belongs? And that the people are now left to the natural freedom of their understanding and choice, I believe our adversaries will hardly deny. They will now refuse this appeal, and it is reasonable they should; and I will further add, that if our people resembled the old Grecians, there might be danger in such a trial. A pragmatical orator told a great man at Athens, that whenever the people were in their rage, they would certainly tear him to pieces; yes, says the other, and they will do the same to you whenever they are in their wits. But God be thanked, our populace is more merciful in their nature, and at present under better direction; and the orators among us have attempted to confound both prerogative and law in their sovereign's presence, and before the highest court of judicature, without any hazard to their persons.

N^o 32. Thursday, March 15. 1710.

Non est ea medicina, cum sanæ parti corporis scalpellum adhibetur, atque integræ; carnificina est ista, et crudelitas. Hi medentur reipublicæ, qui exsecant pestem aliquam, tanquam strumam civitatis.

I AM diverted from the general subject of my discourses, to reflect upon an event of a very extraordinary and surprising nature. A great minister, in high confidence with the Queen, under whose management the weight of affairs at present is in a great measure supposed to lie,

sitting in council, in a royal palace, with a dozen of the chief officers of the state, is stabbed at the very board, in the execution of his office, by the hand of a French *Papist* *, then under examination for high treason; the assassin redoubles his blow to make sure work; and concluding the Chancellor was dispatched †, goes on with the same rage to murder a principal Secretary of State ‡: and that whole noble assembly are forced to rise and draw their swords in their own defence, as if a wild beast had been let loose among them.

This fact hath some circumstances of aggravation not to be paralleled by any of the like kind we meet with in history. Cæsar's murder being performed in the senate comes nearest to the case; but that was an affair concerted by great numbers of the chief senators, who were likewise the actors in it; and not the work of a vile single ruffian. Harry the Third of France was stabbed by an enthusiastic friar, whom he suffered to approach his person, while those who attended him stood at some distance. His *successor* met the same fate in a coach, where neither he nor his nobles in such a confinement were able to defend themselves. In our own country we have, I think, but one instance of this sort, which has made any noise; I mean that of Felton about fourscore years ago; but he took the opportunity to stab the Duke of Buckingham in passing through a dark lobby from one room to another. The blow was neither seen nor heard, and the murderer might have escaped, if his own concern and horror, as it is usual in such cases, had not betrayed him. Besides, the act of Felton will admit of some extenuation from the

* The Abbot de Bourlie, who having quitted his native country, solicited to be employed against it in several courts of Europe, and assumed the title of Marquis de Guiscard. He at length obtained a commission from Q. Anne, and embarked in an expedition against France, which miscarried; and his expectations being disappointed by the new ministry, he endeavoured to make his peace at home by acting here as a spy, and commenced a treasonable correspondence: his letters were intercepted, and produced to him by Mr Harley, at his examination. *Hawkes*.

† Mr Harley, then chancellor of the exchequer, afterwards Earl of Oxford.

‡ Mr Henry St John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke.

motive he is said to have had : but this attempt of Guiscard seems to have outdone them all in every heightening circumstance, except the difference of persons between a king and a great minister ; for I give no allowance at all to the difference of success (which, however, is yet uncertain and depending), nor think it the least alleviation to the crime, whatever it may be to the punishment.

I am sensible, it is ill arguing from particulars to generals, and that we ought not to charge upon a nation the crimes of a few desperate villains it is so unfortunate to produce ; yet at the same time it must be avowed, that the French have for these last centuries been somewhat too liberal of their daggers upon the persons of their greatest men ; such as the Admiral de Coligny, the Dukes of Guise father and son, and the two kings I last mentioned. I have sometimes wondered how a people, whose genius seems wholly turned to singing, and dancing, and prating, to vanity and impertinence ; who lay so much weight upon modes and gestures ; whose essentialities are generally so very superficial ; who are usually so serious upon trifles, and so trifling upon what is serious, have been capable of committing such solid villanies, more suitable to the gravity of a Spaniard, or the silence and thoughtfulness of an Italian ; unless it be, that in a nation naturally so full of themselves, and of so restless imaginations, when any of them happen to be of a morose and gloomy constitution, that huddle of confused thoughts for want of evaporating usually terminates in rage or despair. D'Avila observes, that Jacques Clement * was a sort of buffoon, whom the rest of the friars used to make sport with ; but at last giving his folly a serious turn, it ended in enthusiasm, and qualified him for that desperate act of murdering his King.

But in the Marquis de Guiscard there seems to have been a complication of ingredients for such an attempt. He had committed several enormities in France, was extremely prodigal and vitious, of a dark melancholy complexion and cloudy countenance, such as in vulgar physiognomy is called an *ill look*. For the rest, his talents were

* The monk who stabbed Henry III. of France. *Hawkes.*

very mean, having a sort of inferior cunning, but very small abilities; so that a great man of the late ministry, by whom he was invited over, and with much discretion raised at first step, from a profligate *Popish priest* to a lieutenant-general, and colonel of a regiment of horse, was at last forced to drop him for shame.

Had such an accident happened under that ministry, and to so considerable a member of it, they would have immediately charged it upon the whole body of those they are pleased to call the *faction*. This would have been styled a *high-church principle*; the clergy would have been accused, as promoters and abettors of the fact; committees would have been sent to promise the criminal his life, provided they might have liberty to direct and dictate his confession; and a *black list* would have been printed of all those who had been ever seen in the murderer's company. But the present men in power hate and despise all such detestable arts, which they might now turn upon their adversaries with much more plausibility, than ever these did their honourable negotiations with Greg*.

And here it may be worth observing, how unanimous a concurrence there is between some persons once in great

* In the beginning of the year 1708, William Greg, an under-clerk to Mr Secretary Harley, was detected in a correspondence with Monsieur Chamillard, one of the French King's ministers; to whom he transmitted the proceedings of both houses of parliament, with respect to the augmentation of the British forces, and other papers of great importance. Greg, when he was indicted of this treason, pleaded Guilty; which gave occasion to Mr Harley's enemies to insinuate that he was privy to Greg's practices, and had, by assurances of pardon, prevailed upon him to plead Guilty, in order to prevent the examination of witnesses. The house of Lords appointed a committee of seven, of whom Lord Sunderland was manager, to inquire into the affair. The committee presented an address to the Queen, in which complaint was made, that all Mr Harley's papers had been long exposed to the meanest clerks in his office; and it was requested, that more caution might be used for the future. Upon this address, the execution of Greg was deferred a month: during which time he was solicited, threatened, and promised; but still persisting to take the whole guilt upon himself, he was at length executed, having, in a paper, which he left behind him, justified Mr Harley in particular; which he would scarce have thought necessary, if no particular attempt had been made against him. *H. wkef.*

power and a French *Papist*; both agreeing in the great end of taking away Mr Harley's life, though differing in their methods; the first proceeding by subornation, the other by violence; wherein Guiscard seems to have the advantage, as aiming no further than his life; while the others designed to destroy at once both that and his reputation. The malice of both against this gentleman seems to have risen from the same cause, his discovering designs against the government. It was Mr Harley who detected the treasonable correspondence of Greg, and secured him betimes; when a certain great man, who shall be nameless, had, out of the depth of his politics, sent him a caution to make his escape, which would certainly have fixed the appearance of guilt upon Mr Harley: but when that was prevented, they would have enticed the condemned criminal, with promise of a pardon, to write and sign an accusation against the Secretary: but, to use Greg's own expression, *his death was nothing near so ignominious, as would have been such a life, that must be saved by prostituting his conscience.* The same gentleman now lies stabbed by his other enemy, a *Popish spy*, whose treason he hath discovered. God preserve the rest of her Majesty's ministers from such *Protestants*, and from such *Papists*!

I shall take occasion to hint at some particularities in this surprising fact, for the sake of those at a distance, or who may not be thoroughly informed. The murderer confessed in Newgate, that his chief design was against Mr Secretary St John, who happened to change seats with Mr Harley for more convenience of examining the criminal: and being asked what provoked him to stab the Chancellor, he said, that not being able to come at the Secretary as he intended, it was some satisfaction to murder the person whom he thought Mr St John loved best*.

And here, if Mr Harley hath still any enemies left, whom his blood spilt in the public service cannot reconcile, I hope they will at least admire his magnanimity, which is a quality esteemed even in an enemy: and I think there are few greater instances of it to be found in story. Af-

* How much he was mistaken, appears by Lord Bolingbroke's letter to Sir William Wyndham.

ter the wound was given, he was observed neither to change his countenance, nor discover any concern or disorder in his speech. He rose up and walked about the room while he was able with the greatest tranquillity during the height of the confusion. When the surgeon came, he took him aside, and desired he would inform him freely whether the wound were mortal, because in that case, he said, he had some affairs to settle relating to his family. The blade of the penknife, broken by the violence of the blow against a rib within a quarter of an inch of the handle, was dropt out (I know not whether from the wound, or his cloaths), as the surgeon was going to dress him: he ordered it to be taken up, and wiping it himself, gave it some body to keep, saying, he thought *it now properly belonged to him*. He shewed no sort of resentment, nor spoke one violent word against Guiscard, but appeared all the while the least concerned of any in the company. A state of mind, which in such an exigency nothing but innocence can give, and is truly worthy of a Christian philosopher.

If there be really so great a difference in principle between the *high-flying Whigs* and the friends of France, I cannot but repeat the question, how came they to join in the destruction of the same man? Can his death be possibly for the interest of both? or have they both the same quarrel against him, that he is perpetually discovering and preventing the treacherous designs of our enemies? However it be, this great minister may now say with St Paul, that he hath been *in perils by his own countrymen, and in perils by strangers*.

In the midst of so melancholy a subject, I cannot but congratulate with our own country, that such a savage monster as the Marquis de Guiscard is none of her production; a wretch perhaps more detestable in his own nature, than even this barbarous act has been yet able to represent him to the world. For there are good reasons to believe, from several circumstances, that he had intentions of a deeper dye than those he happened to execute; I mean such as every good subject must tremble to think on. He hath of late been frequently seen going up the backstairs at court, and walking alone in an outer room adjoining to her Majesty's bedchamber. He hath often, and earnestly

earnestly pressed, for some time, to have access to the Queen, even since his correspondence with France. And he has now given such a proof of his disposition, as leaves it easy to guess what was before in his thoughts, and what he was capable of attempting.

It is humbly to be hoped, that the legislature will interpose on so extraordinary an occasion as this, and direct a punishment * some way proportionable to so execrable a crime.

*Et quicumque tuum violavit vulnere corpus,
Morte luat merita————*

N^o 33. Thursday, March 22. 1710.

*De libertate retinenda, qua certe nihil est dulcius, tibi
assentior.*

THE *apologies* of the ancient fathers are reckoned to have been the most useful parts of their writings, and to have done greatest service to the Christian religion; because they removed those misrepresentations which had done it most injury. The methods these writers took, were openly and freely to discover every point of their faith, to detect the falsehood of their accusers, and to charge nothing upon their adversaries but what they were sure to make good. This example hath been ill followed of later times; the *Papists* since the reformation using all arts to palliate the absurdities of their tenets, and loading the reformers with a thousand calumnies; the consequence of which hath been only a more various, wide, and inveterate separation. It is the same thing in civil schisms; a *Whig* forms an image of a *Tory* just after the

* An act was immediately passed to make an attempt on the life of a privy counsellor, in the execution of his office, felony without benefit of clergy. *Hawkes.*

thing he most abhors, and that image serveth to represent the whole body.

I am not sensible of any material difference there is between those who call themselves the *old Whigs*, and a great majority of the present *Tories*, at least by all I could ever find from examining several persons of each denomination. But it must be confessed, that the present body of *Whigs*, as they now constitute that party, is a very odd mixture of mankind, being forced to enlarge their bottom by taking in every heterodox professor either in religion or government, whose opinions they were obliged to encourage for fear of lessening their number; while the bulk of the landed men and people were entirely of the old sentiments. However, they still pretended a due regard to the *monarchy* and the *church*, even at the time when they were making the largest steps towards the ruin of both: but not being able to wipe off the many accusations laid to their charge, they endeavoured by throwing of scandal to make the *Tories* appear blacker than themselves; that so the people might join with *them*, as the smaller evil of the two.

But among all the reproaches which the *Whigs* have flung upon their adversaries, there is none hath done them more service than that of *passive obedience*, as they represent it, with the consequences of *non-resistance*, *arbitrary power*, *indefeasible right*, *tyranny*, *Popery*, and what not. There is no accusation which hath passed with more plausibility than this, nor any that is supported with less justice. In order therefore to undeceive those who have been misled by false representations, I thought it would be no improper undertaking to set this matter in a fair light, which I think hath not yet been done. A *Whig* asks, whether you hold *passive obedience*? You affirm it: he then immediately cries out, you are a *Jacobite*, a *friend of France* and the *Pretender*! because he makes you answerable for the definition he hath formed of that term, however different it be from what you understand. I will therefore give two descriptions of *passive obedience*; the first as it is falsely charged by the *Whigs*, the other as it is really professed by the *Tories*, at least by nineteen in twenty of all I ever conversed with.

Passive

Passive obedience, as charged by the WHIGS.

THE doctrine of *passive obedience* is to believe, that a king, even in a limited monarchy, holding his power only from God, is only answerable to him: that such a king is above all law; that the cruellest tyrant must be submitted to in all things; and if his commands be ever so unlawful, you must neither fly nor resist, nor use any other weapons than *prayers* and *tears*. Although he should force your wife or daughter, murder your children before your face, or cut off five hundred heads in a morning for his diversion; you are still to wish him a long, prosperous reign, and to be patient under all his cruelties with the same resignation as under a plague or a famine; because to resist him would be to resist God in the person of his viceroy. If a king of England should go through the streets of London in order to murder every man he met, *passive obedience* commands them to submit. All laws made to limit him signify nothing, although passed by his own consent, if he thinks fit to break them. God will indeed call him to a severe account; but the whole people united to a man cannot presume to hold his hands, or offer him the least *active disobedience*: the people were certainly created for him, and not he for the people. His next heir, although worse than what I have described, although a fool or a madman, hath a divine indefeasible right to succeed him, which no law can disannul; nay, although he should kill his father upon the throne, he is immediately King to all intents and purposes; the possession of the crown wiping off all stains. But whosoever sits on the throne without this title, though ever so peaceably, and by consent of former kings and parliaments, is an *usurper*, while there is any where in the world another person, who hath a nearer hereditary right; and the whole kingdom lies under mortal sin, till that heir be restored, because he hath a divine title, which no human law can defeat.

This and a great deal more hath, in a thousand papers and pamphlets, been laid to that doctrine of *passive obedience*, which the *Whigs* are pleased to charge upon us.

This

This is what they are perpetually instilling into the people, as the undoubted principle, by which the present ministry and a great majority in parliament do at this time proceed. This is what they accuse the clergy of delivering from the pulpits, and of preaching up as a doctrine absolutely necessary to salvation. And whoever affirms in general, that *passive obedience* is due to the supreme power, he is presently loaded by our candid adversaries with such consequences as these. Let us therefore see what this doctrine is, when stript of such misrepresentations, by describing it as really taught and practised by the *Tories*; and then it will appear what grounds our adversaries have to accuse us upon this article.

*Passive obedience, as professed and practised by the
T O R I E S.*

THEY think that in every government, whether monarchy or republic, there is placed a supreme, absolute, unlimited power, to which *passive obedience* is due. That where-ever is intrusted the power of making laws, that power is without all bounds; can repeal, or enact at pleasure whatever laws it thinks fit; and justly demand universal obedience and non-resistance. That among us, as every body knows, this power is lodged in the King or Queen, together with the Lords and Commons of the kingdom; and therefore all decrees whatsoever, made by that power, are to be actively or passively obeyed. That the administration, or executive part of this power is in England solely intrusted with the prince, who in administering those laws ought to be no more resisted than the legislative power itself. But they do not conceive the same absolute *passive obedience* to be due to a limited prince's commands, when they are directly contrary to the laws he hath consented to, and sworn to maintain. The crown may be sued, as well as a private person; and if an arbitrary king of England should send his officers to seize my lands or goods against law, I can lawfully resist them. The ministers, by whom he acts, are liable to prosecution and impeachment, although his own person be sacred. But if he interpose his royal authority to support their insolence, I see no remedy,

until

until it grows a general grievance, or until the body of the people have reason to apprehend it will be so; after which it becomes a case of necessity, and then I suppose a free people may assert their own rights, yet without any violation to the person or lawful power of the prince. But although the *Tories* allow all this, and did justify it by the share they had in the *revolution*; yet they see no reason for entering into so ungrateful a subject, or raising controversies upon it, as if we were in daily apprehensions of *tyranny* under the reign of so excellent a princess, and while we have so many laws of late years made to limit the prerogative; when, according to those who know our constitution best, things rather seem to lean to the other extreme, which is equally to be avoided. As to the succession; the *Tories* think an *hereditary right* to be the best in its own nature, and most agreeable to our old constitution; yet at the same time they allow it to be defeasible by act of parliament; and so is *magna charta* too, if the legislature think fit: which is a truth so manifest, that no man who understands the nature of government, can be in doubt concerning it.

These I take to be the sentiments of a great majority among the *Tories* with respect to *passive obedience*: and if the *Whigs* insist, from the writings or common talk of warm and ignorant men, to form a judgment of the whole body, according to the first account I have here given; I will engage to produce as many of their side, who are utterly against *passive obedience* even to the legislature; who will assert the last resort of power to be in the people against those whom they have chosen and trusted as their representatives, with the prince at the head; and who will put wild improbable cases to shew the reasonableness and necessity of resisting the legislative power in such imaginary junctures. Than which however nothing can be more idle; for I dare undertake in any system of government, either speculative or practick, that was ever yet in the world, from Plato's republic to Harrington's Oceana, to put such difficulties as cannot be answered.

All the other calumnies raised by the *Whigs* may be as easily wiped off; and I have charity to wish they could as

fully answer the just accusations we have against them, Dodwell, Hickes, and Leslie are gravely quoted to prove, that the *Tories* design to bring in the pretender; and if I should quote them to prove that the same thing is intended by the *Whigs*, it would be full as reasonable; since I am sure they have at least as much to do with *Nonjurors* as we. But our objections against the *Whigs* are built upon their constant practice for many years, whereof I have produced an hundred instances, against any single one of which no answer hath yet been attempted, although I have been curious enough to look into all the papers I could meet with, that are written against the *Examiner*; such a task as, I hope, no man thinks I would undergo for any other end but that of finding an opportunity to own and rectify my mistakes; as I would be ready to do upon the call of the *meanest* adversary. Upon which occasion I shall take leave to add a few words.

I flattered myself last Thursday, from the nature of my subject, and the inoffensive manner I handled it, that I should have one week's respite from those merciless pens, whose severity will some time break my heart: but I am deceived, and find them more violent than ever. They charge me with two *lies* and a *blunder*. The first *lie* is a truth, that Guiscard was invited over; but it is of no consequence. I do not tax it as a fault; such sort of men have often been serviceable: I only blamed the indiscretion of raising a profligate abbot, at the first step, to a lieutenant-general, and colonel of a regiment of horse, without staying some reasonable time, as is usual in such cases, until he had given some proofs of his fidelity, as well as of that interest and credit he pretended to have in his country. But that is said to be another lie; for he was a *Papist*, and could not have a regiment: however, this other lie is a truth too; for a regiment he had, and paid by us, to his agent, Monsieur le Bas, for his use. The third is a *blunder*, that I say Guiscard's design was against Mr Secretary St John, and yet my reasonings upon it are, as if it were personally against Mr Harley. But I say no such thing, and my reasonings are just. I relate only what Guiscard said in Newgate, because it was a particularity the reader might be curious to know, (and accordingly

dingly it lies in a paragraph by itself, after my reflections); but I never meant to be answerable for what Guiscard said, or thought it of weight enough for me to draw conclusions from thence, when I had the address of both houses to direct me better; where it is expressly said, *that Mr Harley's fidelity to her Majesty, and zeal for her service, have drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of Popery and faction.* This is what I believe, and what I shall stick to.

But, alas! these are not the passages which have raised so much fury against me. One or two mistakes in facts of no importance, or a single blunder, would not have provoked them; they are not so tender of my reputation as a writer. All their outrage is occasioned by those passages in that paper, which they do not in the least pretend to answer, and with the utmost reluctance are forced to mention. They take abundance of pains to clear Guiscard from a design against Mr Harley's life; but offer not one argument to clear their other friends, who, in the business of Greg, were equally guilty of the *same design* against the *same person*; whose *tongues were very swords*, and whose *penknives were axes*.

N^o 34. Thursday, March 29. 1711.

— *Sunt hic etiam sua præmia laudi;
Sunt lachrymæ rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt.*

I Begin to be heartily weary of my employment as *Examiner*; which I wish the ministry would consider with half so much concern as I do, and assign me some other with less pains, and a pension. There may soon be a vacancy either on the bench, in the revenue, or the army, and I am *equally* qualified for each; but this trade of *examining*, I apprehend, may at one time or other go near to sour my temper. I did lately propose, that some of those *ingenious* pens which are engaged on the other side, might be employed to succeed me; and I undertook to

bring them over for *t'other crown* : but it was answered, that those gentlemen do much better service in the stations where they are. It was added, that abundance of abuses yet remained to be laid open to the world, which I had often promised to do, but was too much diverted by other subjects that came into my head. On the other side, the advice of some friends and the threats of many enemies have put me upon considering, what would become of me, *if times should alter* : this I have done very maturely, and the result is, that I am in no manner of pain. I grant, that what I have said upon occasion, concerning the late men in power, may be called satire by some unthinking people, as long as that faction is down; but if ever they come into play again, I must give them warning beforehand, that I shall expect to be a *favourite*, and that those pretended advocates of theirs will be pilloried for *libellers*. For I appeal to any man, whether I ever charged that party, or its leaders, with one single action or design, which (if we may judge by their former practices) they will not openly profess, be proud of and score up for merit, when they come again to the head of affairs? I said, they were insolent to the Queen: will they not value themselves upon that, as an argument to prove them bold assertors of the people's liberty? I affirmed, they were against a peace: will they be angry with me for setting forth the refinements of their politics, in pursuing the only method left to preserve them in power? I said, they had involved the nation in debts, and ingrossed much of its money: they go beyond me, and boast they have got it *all*, and the *credit* too. I have urged the probability of their intending great alterations in religion and government: if they destroy both at their next coming, will they not reckon my foretelling it rather as a panegyric than an affront? I said, they had formerly a design against Mr Harley's life *: if they were now in power, would they not immediately cut off his head, and thank me for justifying the sincerity of their intentions? In short, there is nothing I ever said of those worthy patriots, which may not be as well excused: therefore, as soon as they resume their places, I positively de-

* See *The Examiner*, No 32.

sign to put in my claim; and I think, may do it with a better grace than many of that party who now make their court to the present ministry. I know two or three great men, at whose levees you may daily observe a score of the most forward faces, which every body is ashamed of, except those who wear them. But I conceive, my pretensions will be upon a very different foot. Let me offer a parallel case: Suppose K. Charles I. had entirely subdued the rebels at Naseby, and reduced the kingdom to his obedience; whoever had gone about to reason from the former conduct of those *saints*, that if the victory had fallen on their side, they would have murdered their prince, destroyed monarchy and the church, and made the King's party compound for their estates as delinquents, would have been called a false uncharitable libeller by those very persons, who afterwards gloried in all this, and called it the *work of the Lord*, when they happened to succeed. I remember there was a person fined and imprisoned for *scandalum magnatum*, because he said the Duke of York was a Papist: but when that prince came to be King, and made open profession of his religion, he had the justice immediately to release his prisoner, who in his opinion had put a compliment upon him, and not a reproach: and therefore Colonel Titus, who had warmly asserted the same thing in parliament, was made a privy counsellor.

By this rule, if that which for some politic reasons is now called scandal upon the late ministry, proves one day to be only an abstract of such a character as they will assume and be proud of, I think I may fairly offer my pretensions, and hope for their favour: and I am the more confirmed in this notion, by what I have observed in those papers that come out weekly against the Examiner. The authors are perpetually telling me of my ingratitude to my masters; that I *blunder* and betray the cause; and write with more bitterness against those who hire me, than against the Whigs. Now, I took all this at first only for so many strains of wit, and pretty paradoxes to divert the reader; but, upon further thinking, I find they are serious. I imagined I had complimented the present ministry for their dutiful behaviour to the Queen, for their

love of the old constitution in church and state, for their generosity and justice, and for their desire of a speedy honourable peace: but it seems I am mistaken, and they reckon all this for satire, because it is directly contrary to the practice of all those whom they set up to defend, and utterly against all their notions of a good ministry. Therefore I cannot but think they have reason on their side: for, suppose I should write the character of an honest, a religious, and a learned man; and send the first to Newgate, the second to the Grecian coffeehouse, and the last to White's; would they not all pass for satires, and justly enough, among the companies to whom they were sent?

Having therefore employed several papers in such sort of *panegyrics*, and but very few on what they understand to be *satires*, I shall henceforth upon occasion be more liberal of the latter; of which they are like to have a taste in the remainder of this present paper.

Among all the advantages which the kingdom hath received by the late change of ministry, the greatest must be allowed to be the calling of the present parliament upon the dissolution of the last. It is acknowledged, that this excellent assembly hath entirely recovered the honour of parliaments, which had been unhappily prostituted for some years past by the factious proceedings of an unnatural majority in concert with a most corrupt administration. It is plain, by the present choice of members, that the electors of England, when left to themselves, do rightly understand their true interest. The moderate *Whigs* begin to be convinced, that we have been all this while in wrong hands, and that things are now as they should be: and that as the present house of Commons is the best representative of the nation, that hath ever been summoned in our memories, so they have taken care in their first session, by that noble bill of *qualification**, that future parliaments should be composed of landed men; and our properties lie no more at the mercy of those who have none themselves, or at least only what is transient or imaginary. If there be any gratitude in posterity, the memory of this

* The qualification required by this act is some estate in land, either in possession or certain reversion. See No 44.

assembly will be always celebrated ; if otherwise, at least we, who share in the blessings they derive to us, ought with grateful hearts to acknowledge them.

I design in some following papers to draw up a list (for I can do no more) of the great things this parliament hath already performed ; the many abuses they have detected ; their justice in deciding elections without regard to party ; their chearfulness and address in raising supplies for the war, and at the same time providing for the nation's debts ; their duty to the Queen, and their kindness to the church. In the mean time I cannot forbear mentioning two particulars, which in my opinion do discover, in some measure, the temper of the present parliament, and bear analogy to those passages related by Plutarch in the lives of certain great men ; which, as himself observeth, *although they be not of actions which make any great noise or figure in history, yet give more light into the characters of persons, than we could receive from an account of their most renowned achievements.*

Something like this may be observed from two late instances of *decency* and *good nature* in that illustrious assembly I am speaking of. The first was, when after that inhuman attempt upon Mr Harley they were pleased to vote an address to the Queen, wherein they express their utmost detestation of the fact, their high esteem and great concern for that able minister, and justly impute his misfortunes to that zeal for her Majesty's service, which had *drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of Popery and faction.* I dare affirm, that so distinguishing a mark of honour and good-will from such a parliament was more acceptable to a person of Mr Harley's generous nature, than the most *bountiful grant* that was ever yet made to a subject ; as her Majesty's answer, filled with gracious expressions in his favour, adds more to his *real glory*, than any *titles* she could bestow. The prince and representatives of the whole kingdom join in their concern for so important a life : these are the true rewards of virtue ; and this is the commerce between noble spirits in a coin which the *giver* knows where to bestow, and the *receiver* how to value, although neither *avarice* nor *ambition* would be able to comprehend its worth.

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The other instance I intend to produce of *decency* and *good nature* in the present house of Commons, relates to their most worthy Speaker*; who having unfortunately lost his eldest son, the assembly, moved with a generous pity for so sensible an affliction, adjourned themselves for a week, that so good a servant of the public might have some interval to wipe away a father's tears. And indeed that gentleman hath too just an occasion for his grief by the death of a son who had already acquired so great a reputation for every amiable quality, and who might have lived to be so great an honour and an ornament to his ancient family.

Before I conclude, I must desire one favour of the reader; that when he thinks it worth his while to peruse any paper written against the *Examiner*, he will not form his judgment by any mangled quotation out of it, which he finds in such papers, but be so just to read the paragraph referred to; which I am confident will be found a sufficient answer to all that ever those papers can object: at least I have seen above fifty of them, and never yet observed one single quotation transcribed with common candor.

N^o 35. Thursday, April 5. 1711.

Nulla suo peccato impediuntur, quo minus alterius peccata demonstrare possint.

I Have been considering the old constitution of this kingdom; comparing it with the monarchies and republics whereof we meet so many accounts in ancient story, and with those at present in most parts of Europe. I have considered our religion, established here by the legislature soon after the reformation. I have likewise examined the genius and disposition of the people under that reasonable freedom they possess. Then I have turned my reflections upon those two great divisions of *Whig*

* William Bromley, Esq;

and *Tory* (which some way or other take in the whole kingdom), with the principles they both profess, as well as those wherewith they reproach one another. From all this I endeavour to determine from which side her present Majesty may reasonably hope for most security to her person and government, and to which she ought in prudence to trust the administration of her affairs. If these two rivals were really no more than *parties*, according to the common acceptation of the word, I should agree with those politicians who think a prince descends from his dignity by putting himself at the head of either; and that his wisest course is to keep them in a balance, raising or depressing either as it best suits with his designs. But when the visible interest of his crown and kingdom lies on one side; and when the other is but a *faction*, raised and strengthened by incidents and intrigues, and by deceiving the people with false representations of things; he ought in prudence to take the first opportunity of opening his subjects eyes, and declaring himself in favour of those who are for preserving the civil and religious rights of the nation, wherewith his own are so interwoven.

This was certainly our case: for I do not take the heads, advocates, and followers of the *Whigs* to make up, strictly speaking, a *national party*; being patched up of heterogeneous, inconsistent parts, whom nothing served to unite, but the common interest of sharing in the spoil and plunder of the people; their present dread of their adversaries, by whom they apprehended to be called to an account; and that general conspiracy of endeavouring to overturn the church and state, which however if they could have compassed, they would certainly have fallen out among themselves, and broke in pieces, as *their predecessors* did after they destroyed the monarchy and religion. For how could a *Whig*, who is against all discipline, agree with a *Presbyterian*, who carries it higher than the *Papists* themselves? How could a *Socinian* adjust his models to either? or how could any of these cement with a *Deist*, or *Freethinker*, when they came to consult upon points of faith? Neither would they have agreed better in their systems of government; where some would have been for a king under the limitations of a Duke

Duke of Venice ; others for a Dutch republic ; a third party for an aristocracy ; and most of all for some new fabric of their own contriving.

But however, let us consider them as a *party*, and under those general tenets wherein they agreed, and which they publicly owned, without charging them with any that they pretend to deny. Then, let us *examine* those principles of the *Tories* which their adversaries allow them to profess, and do not pretend to tax them with any actions contrary to those professions : after which let the reader judge, from which of these two parties a prince hath most to fear ; and whether her Majesty did not consider the ease, the safety, and dignity of her person, the security of her crown, and the transmission of monarchy to her Protestant successors, when she put her affairs into the present hands.

Suppose the matter were not entire ; the Queen to make her choice ; and for that end, should order the principles on both sides to be fairly laid before her. First, I conceive, the *Whigs* would grant, that they have naturally no very great veneration for *crowned heads* ; that they allow the person of the prince may, upon many occasions, be resisted by arms ; and that they do not condemn the war raised against K. Charles I. or own it to be a rebellion, although they would be thought to blame his murder. They do not think the *prerogative* to be yet sufficiently limited ; and have therefore taken care (as a particular mark of their veneration for the illustrious house of Hanover) to clip it still closer against the next reign ; which consequently they would be glad to see done in the present ; not to mention that the majority of them, if it were put to the vote, would allow that they prefer a commonwealth before a monarchy. As to *religion* ; their universal undisputed maxim is, that it ought to make no distinction at all among *Protestants* ; and in the word *Protestant* they include every body who is not a *Papist*, and who will by an oath give security to the government. Union in discipline and doctrine, the offensive sin of schism, the notion of a church and a hierarchy, they laugh at as foppery, cant, and *priestcraft*. They see no necessity at all that there should be a national faith ;

faith ; and what we usually call by that name, they only style the *religion of the magistrate* *. Since the dissenters and we agree in the main, why should the difference of a few speculative points or modes of dress incapacitate them from serving their prince and country in a juncture, when we ought to have all hands up against the common enemy ? and why should they be forced to take the sacrament from our clergy's hands, and in our posture ; or indeed why compelled to receive it at all, when they take an employment which has nothing to do with religion ?

These are the notions which most of that party avow, and which they do not endeavour to disguise or set off with false colours, or complain of being misrepresented about. I have here placed them on purpose in the same light, which themselves do in the very apologies they make for what we accuse them of ; and how inviting even these doctrines are for such a monarch to close with, as our law, both statute and common, understands a King of England to be, let others decide. But then, if to these we should add other opinions, which most of their own writers justify, and which their universal practice hath given a sanction to ; they are no more than what a prince might reasonably expect, as the natural consequence of those avowed principles. For when such persons are at the head of affairs, the low opinion they have of princes will certainly lead them to violate that respect they ought to bear ; and at the same time, their own want of duty to their sovereign is largely made up, by exacting greater submissions to themselves from their fellow-subjects : it being indisputably true, that the same principle of pride and ambition makes a man treat his equals with insolence, in the same proportion as he affronts his superiors : as both prince and people have sufficiently felt from the late ministry.

Then, from their confessed notions of religion as above related, I see no reason to wonder, why they countenanced not only all sorts of dissenters, but the several *gradations* of *Freethinkers* among us (all which are openly inrolled in their party) ; nor why they were so very averse from the present established form of worship, which, by prescribing obedience to princes from the topic of con-

* See *Letter on the Test*, vol. 3. p. 222.

science, would be sure to thwart all their schemes of innovation.

One thing I might add, as another acknowledged maxim in that party, and in my opinion as dangerous to the constitution as any I have mentioned; I mean, that of preferring on all occasions the *moneyed* interest before the *landed*; which they were so far from denying, that they would gravely debate the reasonableness and justice of it; and at the rate they went on, might in a little time have found a majority of representatives fitly qualified to lay those heavy burdens on the rest of the nation, which themselves would not touch with one of their fingers.

However, to deal impartially, there are some motives which might compel a prince under the necessity of affairs to deliver himself over to that party. They were said to possess the great bulk of cash, and consequently of credit in the nation; and the heads of them had the reputation of presiding over those societies who have the great direction of both: so that all applications for loans to the public service, upon any emergency, must be made through them; and it might prove highly dangerous to disoblige them, because in that case it was not to be doubted, that they would be obstinate and malicious, ready to obstruct all affairs, not only by shutting their own purses, but by endeavouring to sink *credit*, although with some present imaginary loss to themselves, only to shew it was a *creature* of their own.

From this summary of *Whig principles* and dispositions we find, what a prince may reasonably fear and hope from that party. Let us now very briefly consider the doctrines of the *Tories*, which their adversaries will not dispute. As they prefer a well-regulated monarchy before all other forms of government, so they think it next to impossible to alter that institution here, without involving our whole island in blood and desolation. They believe, that the prerogative of a sovereign ought at least to be held as sacred and inviolable as the rights of his people; if only for this reason, because without a due share of power he will not be able to protect them. They think, that by many known laws of this realm, both statute and common, neither the person nor lawful authority of the prince ought, upon

upon any pretence whatsoever, to be resisted or disobeyed. Their sentiments in relation to the church are known enough, and will not be controverted, being just the reverse to what I have delivered as the doctrine and practice of the *Whigs* upon that article.

But here I must likewise deal impartially too ; and add one principle as a characteristic of the *Tories*, which hath much discouraged some princes from making use of them in affairs. Give the *Whigs* but power enough to insult their sovereign, ingross his favours to themselves, and to oppress and plunder their fellow-subjects ; they presently grow into good humour and good language towards the crown ; profess they will stand by it with their lives and fortunes ; and whatever rudenesses they may be guilty of in private, yet they assure the world that there never was so gracious a monarch. But to the shame of the *Tories* it must be confessed, that nothing of all this hath been ever observed in them ; in or out of favour, you see no alteration, farther than a little cheerfulness or cloud in their countenances : the highest employments can add nothing to their loyalty ; but their behaviour to their prince, as well as their expressions of love and duty, are in all conditions exactly the same.

Having thus impartially stated the avowed principle of *Whig and Tory* ; let the reader determine as he pleaseth, to which of these two a wise prince may, with most safety to himself and the public, trust his person and his affairs ; and whether it were rashness or prudence in her Majesty to make those changes in the ministry, which have been so highly extolled by some, and condemned by others.

N^o 36. Thursday, April 12. 1711.

*Tres species tam dissimiles, tria talia texta,
Una dies dedit exitio*—————

I Write this paper for the sake of the *Dissenters*,
whom I take to be the most spreading branch of the
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Whig party, that professeth Christianity; and the only one that seems to be zealous for any particular system of it; the bulk of those we call the *Low-church* being generally indifferent and undetermined in that point; and the other subdivisions having not yet taken either the Old or New Testament into their scheme. By the *Dissenters* therefore it will easily be understood that I mean the *Presbyterians*, as they include the sects of *Anabaptists*, *Independents*, and others, which have been melted down into them since the *restoration*. This sect, in order to make itself national, having gone so far as to raise a rebellion, murder their King, destroy monarchy and the church, was afterwards broken in pieces by its own divisions; which made way for the King's return from his exile. However, the zealous among them did still entertain hopes of recovering the *dominion of grace*; whereof I have read a remarkable passage in a book published about the year 1661, and written by one of their own side. As one of the regicides was going to his execution, a friend asked him, *whether he thought the cause would revive?* He answered, *the cause is in the bosom of Christ; and as sure as Christ rose from the dead, so sure will the cause revive also.* And therefore the *Nonconformists* were strictly watched, and restrained by penal laws, during the reign of K. Charles II. the court and kingdom looking on them as a *faction* ready to join in any design against the government in church or state. And surely this was reasonable enough, while so many continued alive who had voted, and fought, and preached against both, and gave no proof that they had changed their principles. The *Nonconformists* were then exactly upon the same foot with our *Nonjurors* now, whom we double tax, forbid their conventicles, and keep under hatches, without thinking ourselves possessed with a persecuting spirit; because we know they want nothing but the power to ruin us. This, in my opinion, should altogether silence the *Dissenters* complaints of persecution under K. Charles II. or make them shew us wherein they differed at that time, from what our *Jacobites* are now.

Their inclinations to the church were soon discovered, when K. James II. succeeded to the crown, with whom they unanimously joined in its ruin to revenge themselves for

for that restraint they had most justly suffered in the foregoing reign, not from the persecuting temper of the clergy, as their clamours would suggest, but the prudence and caution of the legislature. The same indulgence against law was made use of by them and the *Papists*; and they amicably employed their power, as in defence of one common interest.

But the revolution happening soon after served to wash away the memory of the rebellion; upon which the run against *Popery* was no doubt as just and seasonable, as that of *Fanaticism* after the restoration: and the dread of *Popery* being then our latest danger, and consequently the most fresh upon our spirits, all mouths were open against that; the *Dissenters* were rewarded with an indulgence by law; the rebellion and King's murder were now no longer a reproach; the former was only a civil war, and whoever durst call it a *rebellion* was a *Jacobite* and a *friend* to France. This was the more unexpected, because the revolution being wholly brought about by church-of-England hands, they hoped one good consequence of it would be the relieving us from the incroachments of *Dissenters*, as well as those of *Papists*; since both had equally confederated towards our ruin: and therefore when the crown was new settled, it was hoped at least, that the rest of the constitution would be restored. But this affair took a very different turn: the *Dissenters* had just made a shift to save a tide, and join with the Prince of Orange, when they found all was desperate with their *protector* K. James; and observing a party then forming against the old principles in church and state, under the name of *Whigs* and *Low-churchmen*, they lifted themselves of it, where they have ever since continued.

It is therefore upon the foot they now are that I would apply myself to them, and desire they would consider the different circumstances at present from what they were under, when they began their designs against the church and monarchy about seventy years ago. At that juncture they made up the body of the party; and whosoever joined with them from principles of revenge, discontent, ambition, or love of change, were all forced to shelter under their denomination; united heartily in the pretences of

a further and purer reformation in religion, and of advancing the *great work* (as the *cant* was then) *that God was about to do in these nations*; received the systems of doctrine and discipline prescribed by the Scots, and readily took the *covenant*; so that there appeared no division among them, till after the common enemy was subdued.

But now their case is quite otherwise; and I can hardly think it worth being of a *party*, upon the terms they have been received of late years. For suppose the whole *faction* should at length succeed in their design of destroying the church; are they so weak to imagine, that the new-modelling of religion would be put into their hands? Would their brethren, the *Low-churchmen* and *Free-thinkers*, submit to their *discipline*, their *synods*, or their *classes*; and divide the lands of bishops, or deans and chapters among them? How can they help observing, that their allies, instead of pretending more sanctity than other men, are some of them for levelling all religion; and the rest for abolishing it? Is it not manifest, that they have been treated by their confederates exactly after the same manner as they were by K. James II. made instruments to ruin the church; not for their own sakes, but under a pretended project of universal freedom in opinion to advance the dark designs of those who employ them? For excepting the *antimonarchical principle*, and a few false notions about *liberty*, I see but little agreement betwixt them; and even in these, I believe, it would be impossible to contrive a frame of government that would please them all, if they had it now in their power to try. But however, to be sure, the *Presbyterian* institution would never obtain. For suppose they should, in imitation of their predecessors, propose to have no King but our Saviour CHRIST; the whole clan of *Free-thinkers* would immediately object and refuse his authority. Neither would their *Low-church* brethren use them better, as well knowing what enemies they are to that doctrine of unlimited toleration, where-ever they are suffered to preside. So that upon the whole I do not see, as their present circumstances stand, where the *Dissenters* can find better quarter than from the church of England.

Besides, I leave it to their consideration, whether, with
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all their zeal against the church, they ought not to shew a little decency; and how far it consists with their reputation to act in concert with such confederates. It was reckoned a very infamous proceeding in the present Most Christian King * to assist the Turk against the Emperor: policy and reasons of state were not allowed sufficient excuses for taking part with an *Infidel* against a *Believer*. It is one of the *Dissenters* quarrels against the church, that she is not enough reformed from *Popery*: yet they boldly entered into a league with *Papists* and a *Popish* prince to destroy her. They profess much sanctity, and object against the wicked lives of some of our members: yet they have been long, and still continue, in strict combination with *Libertines* and *Atheists* to contrive our ruin. What if the Jews should multiply, and become a formidable party among us? Would the *Dissenters* join in alliance with them likewise, because they agree already in some general principles, and because the Jews are allowed to be a *stiff-necked and rebellious people*?

It is the part of wise men to conceal their passions, when they are not in circumstances of exerting them to purpose; the arts of getting power, and preserving indulgence, are very different. For the former, the reasonable hopes of the *Dissenters* seem to be at an end; their comrades, the *Whigs* and *Freethinkers*, are just in a condition proper to be forsaken; and the parliament, as well as the body of the people, will be deluded no longer. Besides, it sometimes happens for a cause to be exhausted and worn out, as that of the *Whigs* in general seems at present to be: the nation had felt enough of it. It is as vain to hope restoring that decayed interest, as for a man of sixty to talk of entering on a new scene of life, that is only proper for youth and vigour. New circumstances and new men must arise, as well as new occasions, which are not like to happen in our time. So that the *Dissenters* have no game left at present, but to secure their *indulgence*: in order to which, I will be so bold to offer them some advice.

First, That until some late proceedings are a little for-

* Louis XIV. King of France.

got, they would take care not to provoke, by any violence of tongue or pen, so great a majority as there is now against them; nor keep up any longer that combination with their broken allies; but disperse themselves, and lie dormant against some better opportunity. I have shewn they could have got no advantage, if the late party had prevailed; and they will certainly lose none by its fall, unless through their own fault. They pretend a mighty veneration for the Queen; let them give proof of it by quitting the ruined interest of those who have used her so ill; and by a due respect to the persons she is pleased to trust at present with her affairs. When they can no longer hope to govern, when struggling can do them no good, and may possibly hurt them; what is left, but to be silent and passive?

Secondly, Although there be no law (besides that of God almighty) against *occasional conformity*, it would be prudence in the *Dissenters* to use it as tenderly as they can: for besides the infamous hypocrisy of the thing itself, too frequent practice would perhaps make a remedy necessary. And after all they have said to justify themselves in this point, it still continues hard to conceive, how those consciences can pretend to be scrupulous, upon which an employment hath more power than the love of unity.

In the *last place*, I am humbly of opinion, that the *Dissenters* would do well to drop that *lesson* they have learned from their directors, of affecting to be under horrible apprehensions, that the *Tories* are in the interest of the *pretender*, and would be ready to embrace the first opportunity of inviting him over. It is with the worst grace in the world that they offer to join in the cry upon this article: as if those who *alone* stood in the gap against all the incroachments of *Popery* and *arbitrary power*, are not more likely to keep out both than a set of *schismatics*, who, to gratify their ambition and revenge, did, by the meanest compliances, encourage and spirit up that unfortunate prince to fall upon such measures as must at last have ended in the ruin of our liberty and religion.

P. S. I wish those who give themselves the trouble to write to the *Examiner*, would consider whether what they send be proper for such a paper to take notice of. I had one letter last week, written, as I suppose, by a divine, to desire I would offer some reasons against a bill now before the parliament for *ascertaining the tithe of hops*; from which the writer apprehends great damage to the clergy, especially the poorer *vicars*. If it be as he says, (and he seems to argue very reasonably upon it), the *convocation* now sitting will, no doubt, upon due application, represent the matter to the house of Commons; and he may expect all justice and favour from that *great body*, who have already appeared so tender of their *rights*.

A gentleman likewise, who hath sent me several letters relating to personal hardships he received from some of the late ministry, is advised to publish a narrative of them, they being too large, and not proper for this paper.

N^o 37. Thursday, April 19. 1711.

Semper causæ eventorum magis movent quam ipsa eventa.

I AM glad to observe, that several among the *Whigs* have begun very much to change their language of late. The style is now among the reasonable part of them, when they meet a man in business, or a member of parliament; *Well, Gentlemen, if you go on as you have hitherto done, we shall no longer have any pretence to complain.* They find, it seems, that there have been yet no overtures made to bring in the *pretender*, nor any preparatory steps towards it. They read no inflaming votes, nor bills brought in to endanger the subject. The indulgence to scrupulous consciences is again confirmed from the throne, inviolably preserved, and not the least whisper offered that may affect it. All care is taken to support the war; supplies cheerfully granted, and funds readily subscribed

scribed to, in spite of the little arts made use of to discredit them. The just resentments of some, which are laudable in themselves, and which at another juncture it might be proper to give way to, have been softened or diverted by the calmness of others. So that, upon the article of present management, I do not see how any objection of weight can well be raised.

However, our adversaries still alledge, that this great success was wholly unexpected, and out of all probable view: that in public affairs we ought least of all others to judge by events: that the attempt of changing a ministry, during the difficulties of a long war, was rash and inconsiderate: that if the Queen were disposed, by her inclinations, or from any personal dislike, for such a change, it might have been done with more safety in a time of peace; that if it had miscarried by any of those incidents, which in all appearance might have intervened, the consequences would perhaps have ruined the whole confederacy: and therefore, however it hath now succeeded, the experiment was too dangerous to try.

But this is what we can by no means allow them. We never will admit rashness or chance to have produced all this harmony and order. It is visible to the world, that the several steps towards this change were slowly taken, and with the utmost caution. The *movers* observed as they went on, how matters would bear; and advanced no farther at first, than so as they might be able to stop or go back, if circumstances were not mature. Things were grown to such a height, that it was no longer the question, whether a person who aimed at an employment, were a *Whig* or *Tory*; much less whether he had merit, or proper abilities, for what he pretended to: he must owe his preferment only to the favourites; and the crown was so far from *nominating*, that they would not allow it a *negative*. This the Queen was resolved no longer to endure; and began to break into their *prescription*, by bestowing one or two places of consequence without consulting her *ephori*, after they had fixed them for others, and concluded as usual, that all their business was to signify their pleasure to her Majesty. But although the persons the Queen had chosen were such as no objection could well be

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be raised against upon the score of party, yet the *oligarchy* took the alarm; their sovereign authority was, it seems, called in question; they grew into anger and discontent, as if their undoubted rights were violated. All former obligations to their sovereign now became cancelled; and they put themselves upon the foot of people, who are hardly used after the most eminent services.

I believe all men, who know any thing in politics, will agree, that a prince thus treated by those he hath most confided in, and perpetually loaded with his favours, ought to extricate himself as soon as possible; and is then only blameable in his choice of time, when he defers one minute after it is in his power; because from the monstrous incroachments of exorbitant avarice and ambition he cannot tell how long it may continue to be so. And it will be found upon inquiring into history, that most of those princes who have been ruined by favourites, have owed their misfortune to the neglect of earlier remedies; deferring to struggle, until they were quite sunk.

The *Whigs* are every day cursing the ungovernable rage, the haughty pride, and insatiable covetousness of a *certain person*, as the cause of their fall; and are apt to tell their thoughts, that *one single removal* might have set all things right. But the interests of that *single person* were found upon experience so complicated and woven with the rest by *love*, by *awe*, by *marriage*, by *alliance*, that they would rather confound heaven and earth, than dissolve such an union.

I have always heard and understood, that a King of England possessed of his people's hearts, at the head of a free parliament, and in full agreement with a great majority, made the true figure in the world that such a monarch ought to do; and pursued the real interest of himself and his kingdom. Will they allow her Majesty to be in those circumstances at present? And was it not plain by the addresses sent from all parts of the island, and by the visible disposition of the people, that such a parliament would undoubtedly be chosen? And so it proved without the court's using any arts to influence elections.

What people then are these in a corner, to whom the constitution

constitution must truckle? If the whole nation's credit cannot supply funds for the war, without humble applications from the entire legislature to a few *retailers* of money, it is high time we should sue for a peace. What new maxims are these, which neither we nor our forefathers ever heard of before, and which no wise institution would ever allow? Must our laws from henceforward pass the Bank and East-India company, or have their *royal assent* before they are in force?

To hear some of these worthy reasoners talking of *Credit*, that she is so nice, so squeamish, so capricious, you would think they were describing a lady troubled with vapours, or the colic, to be removed only by a *course of steel*, or *swallowing a bullet*. By the narrowness of their thoughts one would imagine, they conceived the world to be no wider than Exchange-alley. It is probable *they* may have such a sickly dame among them; and it is well if she hath no worse diseases, considering what hands she passes through. But the *National Credit* is of another complexion; of sound health, and an even temper; her life and existence being a quintessence drawn from the vitals of the whole kingdom: and we find these *money-politicians*, after all their noise, to be of the same opinion by the court they paid her, when she lately appeared to them in the form of a *lottery*.

As to that mighty error in politics they charge upon the Queen, for changing her ministry in the height of a war, I suppose it is only looked upon as an error under a *Whiggish administration*; otherwise the late King had much to answer for, who did it pretty frequently. And it is well known, that the late ministry of *famous memory* was brought in during the present war; only with this circumstance, that two or three of the chief did first change their own principles, and then took in suitable companions.

But however, I see no reason why the *Tories* should not value their wisdom by events, as well as the *Whigs*. Nothing was ever thought a more precipitate, rash counsel than that of *altering the coin* at the juncture it was done; yet the prudence of the undertaking was sufficiently justified by the success. Perhaps it will be said, that the attempt was necessary, because the whole species of money

was

was so grievously clipped and counterfeit : and is not her Majesty's authority as sacred as her coin ? and hath not that been most scandalously clipped and mangled, and often counterfeited too ?

It is another grievous complaint of the *Whigs*, that their late friends, and the whole party are treated with abundance of severity in print, and in particular by the *Examiner*. They think it hard, that when they are wholly deprived of power, hated by the people, and out of all hope of re-establishing themselves, their infirmities should be so often displayed in order to render them yet more odious to mankind. This is what they employ their writers to set forth in their papers of the week ; and it is humorous enough to observe one page taken up in railing at the *Examiner*, for his invectives against a discarded ministry, and the other side filled with the falsest and vilest abuses against those who are now in the highest power and credit with their sovereign, and whose least breath would scatter them into silence and obscurity. However, although I have indeed often wondered to see so much licentiousness taken and connived at, and am sure it would not be suffered in any other country of Christendom ; yet I never once invoked the assistance of the *gaol* or *pillory*, which, upon the least provocation, was the usual style during their tyranny. There hath not passed a week these twenty years without some malicious paper scattered in every coffeehouse by the emissaries of that party, whether it were *down* or *up*. I believe they will not pretend to object the same thing to us : nor do I remember any constant weekly paper with reflections on the late ministry or *junta*. They have many weak defenceless parts ; they have not been used to a regular attack, and therefore it is that they are so ill able to endure one, when it comes to be their turn. So that they complain more of a few months truths from us, than we did of all their lies and malice for twice as many years.

I cannot forbear observing upon this occasion, that those worthy authors I am speaking of, seem to me not fairly to represent the sentiments of their party ; who in disputing with us do generally give up several of the late ministry, and freely own many of their failings. They confess the monstrous

monstrous *debt upon the navy* to have been caused by most scandalous mismanagement; they allow the *insolence of some*, and the *avarice of others*, to have been insupportable: but these gentlemen are most liberal of their praises to those persons, and upon those very articles, where their wisest friends give up the point. They gravely tell us, that *such a one* was the most faithful servant that ever any prince had; *another*, the most dutiful; a *third*, the most generous; a *fourth*, of the greatest integrity: so that I look upon these champions rather as retained by a *cabal* than a *party*; which I desire the reasonable men among them would please to consider.

N^o 38. Thursday, April 26. 1711.

Indignum est in ea civitate, quæ legibus continetur, discedi a legibus.

I Have been often considering how it comes to pass, that the dexterity of mankind in evil should always outgrow not only the prudence and caution of private persons, but the continual expedients of the wisest laws contrived to prevent it. I cannot imagine a knave to possess a greater share of natural wit or genius, than an honest man. I have known very notable sharpers at play, who, upon all occasions, were as great dunces as human shape can well allow; and I believe the same might be observed among the other knots of thieves and pickpockets about this town. The proposition however is certainly true, and to be confirmed by an hundred instances. A scrivener, an attorney, a stockjobber, and many other *retailers of fraud*, shall not only be able to over-reach others much wiser than themselves, but find out new inventions to elude the force of any law made against them. I suppose the reason of this may be, that as the aggressor is said to have generally the advantage of the *defender*, so the makers of the law, which is to defend our rights, have usually not

so

so much industry or vigour as those whose interest leads them to attack it. Besides, it rarely happens that men are rewarded by the public for their justice and virtue; neither do those who act upon such principles, expect any recompense until the next world: whereas fraud, where it succeeds, gives present pay; and this is allowed the greatest spur imaginable both to labour and invention. When a law is made to stop some growing evil, the wits of those whose interest it is to break it with secrecy or impunity, are immediately at work; and even among those who pretend to fairer characters, many would gladly find means to avoid what they would not be thought to violate. They desire to reap the advantage, if possible without the shame, or at least without the danger. This art is what I take that dexterous race of men, sprung up soon after the revolution, to have studied with greater application ever since, and to have arrived at great perfection in. According to the doctrine of some Romish casuists, they have found out *quam prope ad peccatum sine peccato possint accedere*; they can tell how to go within an inch of an impeachment, and yet come back untouched. They know what degree of corruption will just forfeit an employment, and whether the bribe you receive be sufficient to set you right, and put something in your pocket besides: how much to a penny you may safely cheat the Queen; whether forty, fifty, or sixty *per cent.* according to the station you are in, and the dispositions of the persons in office below and above you. They have computed the price you may securely take or give for a place, or what part of the salary you ought to reserve. They can discreetly distribute five hundred pounds in a small borough, without any danger from the statutes against bribing elections. They can manage a bargain for an office by a third, fourth, or fifth hand; so that you shall not know whom to accuse. They can win a thousand guineas at play in spite of the dice, and send away the loser satisfied. They can pass the most exorbitant accounts, overpay the creditor with half his demands, and sink the rest.

It would be endless to relate, or rather indeed impossible to discover the several arts which curious men have found out to enrich themselves by defrauding the public in

defiance of the law. The military men, both by sea and land, have equally cultivated this most useful science: neither hath it been altogether neglected by the other sex; of which, on the contrary, I could produce an instance that would make ours blush to be so far outdone.

Besides, to confess the truth, our laws themselves are extremely defective in many articles, which I take to be one ill effect of our best possession, liberty. Some years ago the ambassador of a great prince * was arrested, and outrages committed on his person in our streets, without any possibility of redress from Westminster-hall, or the prerogative of the sovereign; and the legislature was forced to provide a remedy against the like evils in time to come. A commissioner of the stamped paper was lately discovered to have notoriously cheated the public of great sums for many years, by counterfeiting the stamps, which the law hath made capital: but the aggravation of his crime proved to be the cause that saved his life; and that additional heightening circumstance of betraying his trust was found to be a legal defence. I am assured, that the notorious cheat of the brewers at Portsmouth, detected about two months ago in parliament, cannot, by any law now in force, be punished in any degree equal to the guilt and infamy of it. Nay, what is almost incredible, had Guiscard † survived his detestable attempt upon Mr. Harley's person, all the inflaming circumstances of the fact would not have sufficed, in the opinion of many lawyers, to have punished him with death; and the public must have lain under this *dilemma*, either to condemn him by a law *ex post facto*, (which would have been of dangerous consequence, and from an ignominious precedent), or undergo the mortification to see the greatest villain upon earth escape unpunished, to the infinite triumph and delight of *Popery* and *faction*. But even this is not to be wondered at, when we consider, that of all the insolences offered to the Queen since the act of indemnity, (at least that ever came to my ears), I can hardly instance above two or three, which by the letter of the law could amount to high treason.

* Peter the Great, Czar of Muscovy.

† He died of the wounds he received. *Hawkes.*

From these defects in our laws, and the want of some discretionary power, safely lodged, to exert upon emergencies ; as well as from the great acquirements of able men to elude the penalties of those laws they break, it is no wonder that the injuries done to the public are so seldom redressed. But besides, no individual suffers by any wrong he doth to the commonwealth, in proportion to the advantage he gains by doing it. There are seven or eight millions, who contribute to the loss, while the whole gain is sunk among a few. The damage suffered by the public is not so immediately or heavily felt by particular persons ; and the zeal of prosecutions is apt to drop and be lost among numbers.

But imagine a set of politicians for many years at the head of affairs, the game visibly their own, and, by consequence, acting with great security ; may not these be sometimes tempted to forget their caution by length of time, by excess of avarice and ambition, by the insolence or violence of their nature, or perhaps by a mere contempt for their adversaries ? May not such motives as these put them often upon actions directly against the law, such as no evasions can be found for, and which will lay them fully open to the vengeance of a prevailing interest, whenever they are out of power ? It is answered in the affirmative. And here we cannot refuse the late ministry their due praises ; who, foreseeing a storm, provided for their own safety by two admirable expedients, by which, with great prudence, they have escaped the punishments due to pernicious counsels and corrupt management. The first was to procure, under pretences hardly specious, a general act of indemnity, which cuts off all impeachments. The second was yet more refined : suppose, for instance, a counsel is to be pursued, which is necessary to carry on the dangerous designs of a prevailing party, to preserve them in power, to gratify the unmeasurable appetites of a few *leaders* civil and military, although by hazarding the ruin of the whole nation ; this counsel, desperate in itself, unprecedented in its nature, they procure a majority to form into an address, which makes it look like the sense of the nation. Under that shelter they carry on the work, and lie secure against after reckonings.

I must be so free to tell my meaning in this ; that among other things, I understand it of the address made to the Queen about three years ago, to desire that her Majesty would not consent to a peace, without the entire restitution of Spain. A proceeding which, to people abroad, must look like the highest strain of temerity, folly, and gasconade. But we at home, who allow the promoters of that advice to be no fools, can easily comprehend the depth and mystery of it. They were assured by this means to pin down the war upon us ; consequently to increase their own power and wealth, and multiply difficulties on the Queen and kingdom, until they had fixed their party too firmly to be shaken, whenever they should find themselves disposed to reverse their address, and give us leave to wish for a peace.

If any man entertains a more favourable opinion of this monstrous step in politics, I would ask him, what we must do in case we find it impossible to recover Spain ? Those among the *Whigs* who believe a God, will confess that the events of war lie in his hands ; and the rest of them, who acknowledge no such power, will allow, that fortune hath too great a share in the good or ill success of military actions to let a wise man reason upon them, as if they were entirely in his power. If Providence shall think fit to refuse success to our arms ; with how ill a grace, with what shame and confusion shall we be obliged to recant that precipitate address, unless the world will be so charitable to consider, that parliaments among us differ as much as princes ; and that, by the fatal conjunction of many unhappy circumstances, it is very possible for our island to be represented sometimes by those who have the least pretensions. So little truth or justice there is in what some pretend to advance, that the actions of former senates ought always to be treated with respect by the latter ; that those assemblies are all equally venerable, and no one to be preferred before another : by which argument the parliament that began the rebellion against K. Charles I. voted his trial, and appointed his murderers, ought to be remembered with respect.

But to return from this digression : It is very plain, that considering the defectiveness of our laws, the variety of cases,

cases, the weakness of the prerogative, the power, or the cunning of ill-designing men, it is possible that many great abuses may be visibly committed, which cannot be legally punished; especially if we add to this, that some inquiries might probably involve those, whom, upon other accounts, it is not thought convenient to disturb. Therefore it is very false reasoning, especially in the management of public affairs, to argue that men are innocent, because the law hath not pronounced them guilty.

I am apt to think it was to supply such defects as these, that satire was first introduced into the world; whereby those, whom neither religion, nor natural virtue, nor fear of punishment, were able to keep within the bounds of their duty, might be with-held by the shame of having their crimes exposed to open view in the strongest colours, and themselves rendered odious to mankind. Perhaps all this may be little regarded by such hardened and abandoned natures as I have to deal with; but next to taming or binding a savage animal, the best service you can do the neighbourhood is to give them warning either to arm themselves or not come in its way.

Could I have hoped for any signs of remorse from the leaders of that faction, I should very gladly have changed my style, and forgot, or passed by their million of enormities. But they are every day more fond of discovering their impotent zeal and malice: witness their conduct in the city about a fortnight ago, which had no other end imaginable, besides that of perplexing our affairs, and endeavouring to make things desperate, that themselves may be thought necessary. While they continue in this frantic mood, I shall not forbear to treat them as they deserve; that is to say, as the inveterate, irreconcilable enemies to our country and its constitution.

N^o 39. Thursday, May 3. 1711.

Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?

There have been certain topics of reproach liberally bestowed for some years past, by the *Whigs* and *Tories* upon each other. We charge the former with a design of destroying the *established church*, and introducing *Fanaticism* and *Freethinking* in its stead. We accuse them as enemies to monarchy; as endeavouring to undermine the present form of government, and to build a commonwealth, or some new scheme of their own, upon its ruins. On the other side, their clamours against us may be summed up in those three formidable words, *Popery*, *arbitrary power*, and the *pretender*. Our accusations against them we endeavour to make good by certain overt acts; such as their perpetually abusing the whole body of the clergy, their declared contempt for the very order of priesthood, their aversion against Episcopacy, the public encouragement and patronage they gave to Tindal, Toland, and other Atheistical writers; their appearing as professed advocates retained by the dissenters, excusing their separation, and laying the guilt of it to the obstinacy of the church; their frequent endeavours to repeal the test, and their setting up the indulgence to scrupulous consciences as a point of greater importance than the established worship. The regard they bear to our *monarchy* hath appeared by their open ridiculing the *martyrdom* of K. Charles I. in their Calves-head clubs, their common discourses, and their pamphlets; their denying the unnatural war raised against that prince, to have been a rebellion; their justifying his murder in the allowed papers of the week; their industry in publishing and spreading seditious and republican tracts, such as Ludlow's Memoirs, Sidney of Government, and many others; their endless lopping of the prerogative, and mincing into nothing her Majesty's titles to the crown.

What

What proofs they bring for our endeavouring to introduce *Popery*, *arbitrary power*, and the *pretender*, I cannot readily tell, and would be glad to hear: however, those important words having, by dexterous management, been found of mighty service to the cause, although applied with little colour, either of reason or justice: I have been considering, whether they may not be adapted to more proper objects.

As to *Popery*, which is the first of these; to deal plainly, I can hardly think there is any set of men among us, except the professors of it, who have any direct intention to introduce it here; but the question is, Whether the principles and practices of us or the *Whigs*, be most likely to make way for it? It is allowed on all hands, that among the methods concerted at Rome, for bringing over England into the bosom of the Catholic church, one of the chief was to send Jesuits, and other emissaries, in lay habits; who, personating *tradesmen* and *mechanics*, should mix with the people, and, under the pretence of a further and purer *reformation*, endeavour to divide us into as many sects as possible; which would either put us under the necessity of returning to our old errors: to preserve *peace* at home; or by our *divisions* make way for some powerful neighbour, with the assistance of the Pope's permission and a consecrated banner, to *convert* and *enslave* us at once. If this hath been reckoned good politics, (and it was the best the *Jesuit schools* could invent), I appeal to any man, whether the *Whigs*, for many years past, have not been employed in the very same work? They professed on all occasions, that they knew no reason why any one system of *speculative opinions* (as they term the doctrines of the church) should be established by law, more than another; or why employments should be confined to the religion of the magistrate, and that called the *church established*. The grand maxim they laid down was, That no man, for the sake of a few *notions* and *ceremonies*, under the names of *doctrine* and *discipline*, should be denied the liberty of serving his country: as if places would go a-begging, unless *Brownists*, *Familists*, *Sweet singers*, *Quakers*, *Anabaptists*, and *Mugletonians* would take them off our hands.

I have been sometimes imagining this scheme brought to perfection, and how diverting it would be to see half a dozen *Sweet fingers* on the bench in their ermins, and two or three *Quakers* with their white staves at court, I can only say, this project is the very counter-part of the late K. James's design, which he took up as the best method for introducing his *own religion* under the pretext of an *universal liberty of conscience*, and that no difference in religion should make any in his favour. Accordingly, to save appearances, he dealt some employments among *Dissenters* of most denominations; and what he did was no doubt in pursuance of the best advice he could get at home or abroad; but the church thought it the most dangerous step he could take for her destruction. It is true K. James admitted *Papists* among the rest, which the *Whigs* would not: but this is sufficiently made up by a material circumstance, wherein they seem to have much outdone that prince, and to have carried their *liberty of conscience* to a higher point, having granted it to all the classes of *Freethinkers*, (which the nice conscience of a *Popish prince* would not give him leave to do), and were therein mightily overseen; because it is agreed by the learned, that there is but a very narrow step from *Atheism* to the other extreme, *superstition*. So that, upon the whole, whether the *Whigs* had any real design of bringing in *Popery* or no, it is very plain that they took the most effectual step towards it; and if the *Jesuits* had been their immediate directors, they could not have taught them better, nor have found apter scholars.

Their second accusation is, that we encourage and maintain *arbitrary power* in princes, and promote *enslaving doctrines* among the people. This they go about to prove by instances, producing the particular opinions of certain divines in K. Charles II.'s reign, a decree of Oxford university, and some few writers since the *revolution*. What they mean is the principle of *passive obedience* and *non-resistance*, which those who affirm, did, I believe, never intend should include *arbitrary power*. However, although I am sensible that it is not reckoned prudent in a dispute to make any concessions without the last necessity; yet I do agree, that, in my own private opinion,

pinion, some writers did carry that tenet of *passive obedience* to a height, which seemed hardly consistent with the liberties of a country, whose laws can neither be enacted nor repealed without the consent of the whole people; I mean not those who affirm it due in general, as it certainly is, to the legislature; but such as fix it entirely in the prince's person. This last hath, I believe, been done by a very few; but when the *Whigs* quote authors to prove it upon us, they bring in all who mention it as a duty in general, without applying it to princes abstracted from their senate.

By thus freely declaring my own sentiments of *passive obedience*, it will at least appear that I do not write for a party; neither do I upon any occasion pretend to speak their sentiments, but my own. The majority of the two houses, and the present ministry (if those be a party) seem to me in all their proceedings to pursue the real interest of church and state; and if I should happen to differ from particular persons among them in a single notion about government, I suppose they will not upon that account explode me and my paper. However, as an answer once for all to the tedious scurrilities of those idle people, who affirm I am hired and directed what to write; I must here inform them, that their *censure* is an effect of their *principles*. The present ministry are under no necessity of employing prostitute pens; they have no dark designs to promote by advancing *heterodox opinions*.

But, to return, suppose two or three private divines under K. Charles II. did a little overstrain the *doctrine of passive obedience* to princes; some allowance might be given to the memory of that *unnatural rebellion* against his father, and the dismal consequences of *resistance*. It is plain, by the proceedings of the churchmen before and at the revolution, that this doctrine was never designed to introduce *arbitrary power*.

I look upon the *Whigs* and *Dissenters* to be exactly of the same political faith; let us therefore see, what share each of them had in advancing *arbitrary power*. It is manifest, that the *Fanatics* made Cromwell the most absolute tyrant in Christendom. The *rump* abolished the *house of Lords*, the *army* abolished the *rump*, and by this
army

army of *saints* he governed. The *Dissenters* took liberty of conscience and employments from the late K. James, as an acknowledgment of his *dispensing power*; which makes a King of England as absolute as the Turk. The *Whigs* under the late King perpetually declared for keeping up a standing army in times of peace; which hath in all ages been the first and great step to the ruin of liberty. They were besides discovering every day their inclinations to destroy the rights of the church, and declared their opinion in all companies against the bishops sitting in the *house of Peers*, which was exactly copying after their predecessors of *forty-one*. I need not say, their real intentions were to make the King absolute; but whatever be the designs of innovating men, they usually end in a tyranny; as we may see by an hundred examples in Greece, and in the later commonwealths of Italy, mentioned by Machiavel.

In the third place, the *Whigs* accuse us of a design to bring in the *pretender*; and to give it a greater air of probability, they suppose the Queen to be a party in this design; which however is no very extraordinary supposition in those who have advanced such singular paradoxes concerning Greg and Guiscard. Upon this article their charge is general, without ever offering to produce an instance. But I verily think and believe, it will appear no paradox, that, if ever he be brought in, the *Whigs* are his men. For, first, it is an undoubted truth, that, a year or two after the *revolution*, several leaders of that party had their pardons sent them by the late K. James; and had entered upon measures to restore him on account of some disobligations they received from K. William. Besides, I would ask, whether those who are under the greatest ties of gratitude to K. James, are not at this day become the most zealous *Whigs*? and of what party those are now, who kept a long correspondence with St Germans?

It is likewise very observable of late, that the *Whigs*, upon all occasions, profess their belief of the pretender's being no *impostor*, but a real *prince*, born of the late Queen's body; which, whether it be true or false, is very unseasonably advanced, considering the weight such an
opinion

opinion must have with the vulgar, if they once thoroughly believe it. Neither is it at all improbable, that the pretender himself puts his chief hopes in the friendship he expects from the *Dissenters* and *Whigs*, by his choice to invade the kingdom, when the latter were most in credit; and he had reason to count upon the former from the gracious treatment they received from his supposed father, and their joyful acceptance of it. But further, what could be more consistent with the *Whiggish* notion of a *revolution-principle*, than to bring in the pretender? A *revolution-principle*, as their writings and discourses have taught us to define it, is a principle perpetually disposing men to *revolutions*: and this is suitable to the famous saying of a great *Whig*, *that the more revolutions the better*: which, how odd a maxim soever in appearance, I take to be the true characteristic of the party.

A dog loves to turn round often; yet, after certain *revolutions*, he lies down to *rest*: but heads under the dominion of the *moon* are for perpetual *changes*, and perpetual *revolutions*: besides, the *Whigs* owe all their wealth to *wars* and *revolutions*; like the girl at Bartholomew fair, who gets a penny by turning round a hundred times with swords in her hands.

To conclude, the *Whigs* have a natural faculty of bringing in *pretenders*, and will therefore probably endeavour to bring in the great one at last. How many *pretenders*, to wit, honour, nobility, politics, have they brought in these last twenty years? In short, they have been sometimes able to procure a majority of *pretenders* in parliament; and wanted nothing to render the work complete, except a *pretender* at their head.

No 40. Thursday, May 10. 1711.

Dos est magna parentium virtus.

I Took up a paper * some days ago in a coffeehouse; and if the correctness of the style, and a superior spi-

* The Speaker's congratulation of Mr Harley, in the name of the house, on his escape and recovery. See the next number. *Hawkes.*

rit in it, had not immediately undeceived me, I should have been apt to imagine I had been reading an *Examiner*. In this paper there were several important propositions advanced. For instance, That *Providence raised up Mr Harley to be an instrument of great good, in a very critical juncture, when it was much wanted.* That his very enemies acknowledge his eminent abilities, and distinguishing merit, by their unwearied and restless endeavours against his person and reputation; that they have had an inveterate malice against both; that he hath been wonderfully preserved from some unparalleled attempts, with more to the same purpose. I immediately computed by rules of arithmetic, that in the last cited words there was something more intended than the attempt of Guiscard, which, I think, can properly pass but for one of the some. And although I dare not pretend to guess the author's meaning; yet the expression allows such a latitude, that I would venture to hold a wager, most readers, both *Whig* and *Tory*, have agreed with me, that this plural number must in all probability, among other facts, take in the business of Greg.

See now the difference of styles. Had I been to have told my thoughts on this occasion; instead of saying how Mr Harley was treated by some persons, and preserved from some unparalleled attempts, I should with intolerable bluntness and ill manners have told a formal story of a committee sent to a condemned criminal in Newgate to bribe him with a pardon, on condition he would swear high treason against his master, who discovered his correspondence and secured his person, when a certain grave politician had given him warning to make his escape: and by this means I should have drawn a whole swarm of hedge-writers to exhaust their catalogue of scurrilities against me, as a liar, and a slanderer. But, with submission to the author of that forementioned paper, I think he hath carried that expression to the utmost it will bear; for, after all this noise I know of but two attempts against Mr Harley, that can really be called unparalleled, which are those aforesaid of Greg and Guiscard; for as to the rest, I will engage to parallel them from the story of Catiline, and others I could produce.

However,

However, I cannot but observe, with infinite pleasure, that a great part of what I have charged upon the late prevailing faction, and for affirming which I have been adorned with so many decent epithets, hath been sufficiently confirmed at several times by the resolutions of one or the other house of parliament. I may therefore now say, I hope, with good authority, that *there hath been some unparalleled attempts against Mr Harley*: that the late ministry were justly to blame in some managements, which occasioned the unfortunate battle of Almanza, and the disappointment at Toulon: that the public hath been grievously wronged by most notorious frauds during the *Whig administration*; that those who advised the bringing in the Palatines, were enemies to the kingdom; that the late managers of the revenue have not duly passed their accounts for a great part of thirty-five millions, and ought not to be trusted in such employments any more. Perhaps, in a little time, I may venture to affirm some other paradoxes of this kind, and produce the same vouchers. And perhaps also, if it had not been so busy a period, instead of one Examiner, the late ministry might have had above four hundred, each of whose little fingers would be heavier than my loins. It makes me think of Neptune's threat to the winds:

Quos ego—sed motos præstat componere fluctus.

Thus, when the sons of Æolus had almost sunk the ship with the tempests they raised, it was necessary to smooth the ocean, and secure the vessel, instead of pursuing the offenders.

But I observe the general expectation at present, instead of dwelling any longer upon conjectures who is to be punished for past miscarriages, seems bent upon the rewards intended to those who have been so highly instrumental in rescuing our constitution from its late dangers. It is the observation of Tacitus in the life of Agricola, that his eminent services had raised a general opinion of his being designed by the Emperor for Prætor of Britain: *Nullis in hoc suis sermonibus, sed quia par videbatur*; and then he adds, *Non semper errat Fama, aliquando et eligit*. The judgment of a wise prince, and

the general disposition of the people, do often point at the same person; and sometimes the popular wishes do even foretel the reward intended for some superior merit. Thus, among several deserving persons, there are *two* whom the public vogue hath in a peculiar manner singled out, as designed very soon to receive the choicest marks of the royal favour; *one* of them to be placed in a very high station, and *both* to increase the number of our nobility*. This, I say, is the general conjecture; for I pretend to none, nor will be chargeable if it be not fulfilled; since it is enough for their honour, that the nation thinks them worthy of the greatest rewards.

Upon this occasion I cannot but take notice, that of all the heresies in politics profusely scattered by the partisans of the *late administration*, none ever displeased me more, or seemed to have more dangerous consequences to *monarchy*, than that pernicious talent so much affected of discovering a contempt for *birth, family, and ancient nobility*. All the threadbare topics of *poets* and *orators* were displayed to discover to us, that *merit* and *virtue* were the only *nobility*; and that the advantages of *blood* could not make a *knave* or a *fool* either honest or wise. Most popular commotions we read of in the histories of Greece and Rome took their rise from unjust quarrels to the *nobles*; and in the latter, the *plebeians* incroachments on the *patricians* were the first cause of their ruin.

Suppose there be nothing but *opinion* in the difference of blood; every body knows, that *authority* is very much founded on *opinion*. But surely that difference is not wholly imaginary. The advantages of a liberal education, of chusing the best companions to converse with, not being under the necessity of practising little mean tricks by a scanty allowance, the enlarging of thought, and acquiring the knowledge of men and things by travel, the example of ancestors inciting to great and good actions; these are usually some of the opportunities that fall in the way of those who are born of what we call the better families: and allowing *genius* to be equal in them and the vulgar, the odds are clearly on their side. Nay, we may observe

* Harley and St John.

in some, who, by the appearance of merit or favour of fortune, have risen to great stations from an obscure birth, that they have still retained some sordid vices of their *parentage* or *education*, either *insatiable avarice*, or *ignominious falsehood* and *corruption*.

To say the truth, the great neglect of education in several noble families, whose sons are suffered to pass the most improveable seasons of their youth in vice and idleness, have too much lessened their reputation: but even this misfortune we owe, among all the rest, to that *Whiggish* practice of reviling the *universities* under the pretence of their instilling *pedantry*, *narrow principles*, and *high-church doctrines*.

I would not be thought to undervalue *merit* and *virtue*, where-ever they are to be found; but will allow them capable of the highest dignities in a state, when they are in a very great degree of eminence. A pearl holds its value, though it be found in a dunghill; but however, that is not the most probable place to search for it. Nay, I will go farther, and admit, that a man of quality without *merit* is just so much the worse for his quality; which at once sets his vices in a more public view, and reproacheth him for them. But on the other side, I doubt those who are always undervaluing the advantages of birth, and celebrating personal merit, have principally an eye to their own, which they are fully satisfied with, and which nobody will dispute with them about; whereas they cannot without impudence and folly pretend to be nobly born; because this is a secret too easily discovered: for no mens *parentage* is so nicely inquired into as that of assuming upstarts, especially when they affect to make it better than it is, as they often do, or behave themselves with insolence.

But whatever may be the opinion of others upon this subject, whose philosophical scorn for *blood* and *families* reacheth even to those that are *royal*, or perhaps took its rise from a *Whiggish* contempt of the latter: I am pleased to find *two* such instances of extraordinary merit, as I have mentioned, joined with ancient and honourable birth; which, whether it be of real or imaginary value, hath been held in veneration by all wise polite states both

ancient and modern. And as much a foppery as men pretend to think it, nothing is more observable in those who rise to great place or wealth from mean originals, than their mighty solicitude to convince the world, that they are not so low as is commonly believed. They are glad to find it made out by some strained genealogy, that they have a remote alliance with better families. Cromwell himself was pleased with the impudence of a flatterer, who undertook to prove him descended from a branch of the royal stem. I know a *citizen* who adds or alters a letter in his name with every *plumb* he acquires; he now wants only the change of a vowel * to be allied to a sovereign prince in Italy †; and that perhaps he may contrive to be done by a mistake of the graver upon his *tombstone*.

When I am upon this subject of *nobility*, I am sorry for the occasion given me to mention the loss of a *person* who was so great an ornament to it, as the late Lord President ‡; who began early to distinguish himself in the *public service*, and passed through the highest employments of state in the most difficult times, with great *abilities* and untainted *honour*. As he was of a good old age, his principles of religion and loyalty had received no mixture from *late infusions*, but were instilled into him by his illustrious father, and other noble spirits, who had exposed their lives and fortunes for the royal martyr.

—————*Pulcherrima proles,*
Magnanimi heroes nati melioribus annis.

His first great action was, like Scipio, to defend his father when oppressed by numbers; and his filial piety was not only rewarded with long life, but with a son, who, upon the like occasion, would have shewn the same resolution. No man ever preserved his dignity better when he was out of power, nor shewed more affability while he was in. To conclude, his character (which I do not here pretend to draw) is such as his nearest friends may safely trust to the most impartial pen; nor wants the least of that allowance which, they say, is required for those who are dead.

* Sir H. Furnese. † Farnese. ‡ Earl of Rochester.

N^o 41. Thursday, May 17. 1711.

— *Quem cur distringere coner,
Tutus ab infestis latronibus?*

I Never let slip an opportunity of endeavouring to convince the world, that I am not partial; and to confound the idle reproach of my being hired or directed what to write in defence of the present ministry, or for detecting the practices of the former. When I first undertook this paper, I firmly resolved, that if ever I observed any gross neglect, abuse, or corruption in the public management, which might give any just offence to reasonable people; I would take notice of it with that innocent boldness which becometh an honest man, and a true lover of his country; at the same time preserving the respect due to persons so highly intrusted by so wise and excellent a Queen. I know not how such a liberty might have been resented; but I thank God there hath been no occasion given me to exercise it; for I can safely affirm, that I have with the utmost rigour examined all the actions of the present ministry, as far as they fall under general cognisance, without being able to accuse them of one ill or mistaken step. Observing indeed some time ago, that seeds of dissension had been plentifully scattered from a *certain corner*, and fearing they began to rise and spread, I immediately writ a paper on the subject, which I treated with that warmth I thought it required; but the prudence of those at the helm soon prevented this growing evil, and at present it seems likely to have no consequences.

I have had indeed for some time a small occasion of quarrelling, which I thought too inconsiderable for a formal subject of complaint, although I have hinted at it more than once. But it is grown at present to as great a height, as a matter of that nature can possibly bear; and therefore I conceive it high time that an effectual stop should be put to it. I have been amazed at the flaming licentiousness of several weekly papers, which for some months

past have been chiefly employed in barefaced scurrilities against those who are in the greatest trust and favour with the Queen, with the first and last letters of their names frequently printed, or some *periphrasis* describing their station, or other *innuendos* contrived too plain to be mistaken. The consequence of which is (and it is natural it should be so), that their long impunity hath rendered them still more audacious.

At this time I particularly intend a paper called the *Medley*, whose indefatigable incessant railings against me I never thought convenient to take notice of, because it would have diverted my design, which I intended to be of public use. Besides, I never yet observed that writer, or those writers (for it is every way a *Medley*), to argue against any one material point or fact that I had advanced, or make one fair quotation. And after all, I knew very well how soon the world grows weary of controversy. It is plain to me, that three or four hands at least have been joined at times in that worthy composition; but the outlines, as well as the finishing, seem to have been always the work of the same pen, as it is visible from half a score beauties of style inseparable from it. But who these *medlers* are, or where the judicious leaders have picked them up, I shall never go about to conjecture: factious rancour, false wit, abandoned scurrility, impudent falsehood, and servile pedantry, having so many fathers, and so few to own them, that Curiosity herself would not be at the pains to guess. It is the first time I ever did myself the honour to mention that admirable paper; nor could I imagine any occasion likely to happen, that would make it necessary for me to engage with such an adversary. This paper is weekly published, and as appears by the number, hath been so for several months; and is next to the *Observer* allowed to be the best production of the party. Last week my printer brought me that of May 7. N^o 32. where there are two paragraphs relating to the Speaker of the house of Commons, and to Mr Harley, which, as little as I am inclined to engage with such an antagonist, I cannot let pass without failing in my duty to the public: and if those in power will suffer such in-

famous

famous insinuations to pass with impunity, they act without precedent from any age or country of the world.

I desire to open this matter, and leave the *Whigs* themselves to determine upon it. The house of Commons resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that the Speaker should congratulate Mr Harley's escape and recovery in the name of the house, upon his first attendance on their service. This is accordingly done; and the speech, together with the Chancellor of the Exchequer's, are printed by order of the house. The author of the *Medley* takes this speech to task the very next week after it is published; telling us in the aforesaid paper, that the *Speaker's commending Mr Harley for being an instrument of great good to the nation, was ill-chosen flattery; because Mr Harley had brought the nation under great difficulties, to say no more.* He says, *that when the Speaker tells Mr Harley, that Providence hath wonderfully preserved him from some unparalleled attempts (for that the Medley alludes to), he only revives a false and groundless calumny upon other men; which is an instance of impotent, but inveterate malice that makes him [the Speaker] still appear more vile and contemptible.* This is an extract from his first paragraph. In the next this writer says, *that the Speaker's praying to God for the continuance of Mr Harley's life, as an invaluable blessing, was a falsome piece of insincerity, which exposes him to shame and derision; because he is known to bear ill-will to Mr Harley, to have an extreme bad opinion of him, and to think him an obstructor of those fine measures he would bring about.*

I now appeal to the *Whigs* themselves, whether a great minister of state, in high favour with the Queen, and a speaker of the house of commons, were ever publicly treated after so extraordinary a manner in the most licentious times? For this is not a clandestine libel stolen into the world, but openly printed and sold with the book-seller's name and place of abode at the bottom. And the juncture is admirable, when Mr Harley is generally believed upon the very point to be made an earl, and promoted to the most important station of the kingdom; nay, the very marks of esteem he hath so lately received from
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the whole representative body of the people, are called *ill-chosen flattery, and a fulsome piece of insincerity, exposing the donors to shame and derision.*

Does this intrepid writer think he hath sufficiently disguised the matter by that stale artifice of altering the story, and putting it as a supposed case? Did any man, who ever saw the congratulatory speech, read either of those paragraphs in the *Medley* without interpreting them just as I have done? Will the author declare upon his great sincerity, that he never had any such meaning? Is it enough, that a jury at Westminster-hall would perhaps not find him guilty of defaming the Speaker and Mr Harley in that paper? Which, however, I am much in doubt of too; and must think the law very defective, if the reputation of such persons must lie at the mercy of such pens. I do not remember to have seen any libel, supposed to be writ with caution and double meaning in order to prevent prosecution, delivered under so thin a cover, or so unartificially made up as this, whether it were from an apprehension of his reader's dulness, or an effect of his own. He hath transcribed the very phrases of the Speaker, and put them in a different character, for fear they might pass unobserved, and to prevent all possibility of being mistaken. I shall be pleased to see him have recourse to the old evasion, and say, That I who make the application am chargeable with the abuse: let any reader of either party be judge. But I cannot forbear asserting as my opinion, that for a ministry to endure such open calumny, without calling the author to account, is next to deserving it. And this is an omission I venture to charge upon the present ministry, who are too apt to despise little things, which however have not always little consequences.

When this paper was first undertaken, one design among others was, to *examine* some of those writings so frequently published with an evil tendency either to religion or government; but I was long diverted by other inquiries, which I thought more immediately necessary; to animadvert upon mens actions, rather than their speculations; to shew the necessity there was of changing the ministry, that our constitution in church and state might be preserved; to expose some dangerous principles and
practices

practices under the former administration; and prove, by many instances, that those who are now at the helm, are entirely in the true interest of prince and people. This I may modestly hope hath, in some measure, been already done, sufficient to answer the end proposed; which was, to inform the ignorant, and those at a distance, and to convince such as are engaged in party from no other motive than that of conscience. I know not whether I shall have any appetite to continue this work much longer; if I do, perhaps some time may be spent in exposing and overturning the false reasonings of those who engage their pens on the other side, without losing time in vindicating myself against their scurrilities, much less in retorting them. Of this sort there is a certain humble companion, a French *maitre des langues* *, who every month publisheth an extract from votes, news-papers, speeches, and proclamations, larded with some insipid remarks of his own; which he calls, *The political state of Great Britain*. This ingenious piece, he tells us himself, is constantly translated into French, and printed in Holland, where the Dutch no doubt conceive most noble sentiments of us conveyed through such a vehicle. It is observable in his account for April, that the vanity so predominant in many of his nation hath made him more concerned for the honour of Guiscard, than the safety of Mr Harley. And for fear we should think the worse of his country upon that *assassin's* account, he tells us there have been more murders, parricides, and villainies committed in England than any other part of the world. I cannot imagine how an illiterate foreigner, who is neither master of our language, or indeed of common sense, and who is devoted to a faction, I suppose for no other reason, but his having more *Whig* customers than *Tories*, should take it into his head to write politic tracts of our affairs. But I presume, he builds upon the foundation of having been called to an account for his insolence in one of his former monthly productions; which is a method that seldom fails of giving some vogue to the foolishlest composition. If such a work must be done, I wish some tolerable hand would undertake it; and that we would not suffer a

* One Abel Boyer.

little whiffing Frenchman to neglect his trade of teaching his language to our children, and presume to instruct foreigners in our politics.

N^o 42. Thursday, May 24. 1711.

*Delicta majorum immeritus lues,
Romane, donec templa refeceris,
Ædesque labentes deorum.—*

Several letters have been lately sent me, desiring I would make honourable mention of the pious design of building fifty churches in several parts of London and Westminster, where they are most wanted, occasioned by an address of the *convocation* to the Queen, and recommended by her Majesty to the house of Commons; who immediately promised they *would enable her to accomplish so excellent a design*, and are now preparing a bill accordingly. I thought to have deferred any notice of this important affair until the end of this session; at which time I proposed to deliver a particular account of the great and useful things already performed by this present parliament. But in compliance to those who give themselves the trouble of advising me, and partly convinced by the reasons they offer, I am content to bestow a paper upon a subject that indeed so well deserveth it.

The clergy, and whoever else have a true concern for the constitution of the church, cannot but be highly pleased with one prospect in this new scene of public affairs. They may very well remember the time, when every session of parliament was like a cloud hanging over their heads; and if it happened to pass without bursting into some storm upon the church, we thanked God, and thought it an happy escape until the next meeting; upon which we resumed our secret apprehensions, although we were not allowed to believe any danger. Things are now altered, the parliament takes the necessities of the church into consideration, receives the proposals of the clergy met in convocation, and amidst all the exigencies of a *long expensive*

penſive war, and under the preſſure of heavy debts, finds a ſupply for erecting fifty edifices for the ſervice of God. And it appears by the addreſs of the Commons to her Maſteſty upon this occaſion, (wherein they diſcovered a true ſpirit of religion), that applying the money granted to accompliſh ſo excellent a deſign, would, in their opinion, be the moſt effectual way of carrying on the war; that it would (to uſe their own words) be a means of drawing down bleſſings on her Maſteſty's undertakings, as it adds to the number of thoſe places, where the prayers of her devout and faithful ſubjects will be daily offered up to God for the proſperity of her government at home, and the ſucceſs of her arms abroad.

I am ſometimes hoping, that we are not naturally ſo bad a people as we have appeared for ſome years paſt. Faction, in order to ſupport itſelf, is generally forced to make uſe of ſuch abominable inſtruments, that as long as it prevails, the genius of a nation is overpreſſed, and cannot appear to exert itſelf; but when that is broken and ſuppreſſed, when things return to the old courſe, mankind will naturally fall to act from principles of reaſon and religion. The Romans, upon a great victory or eſcape from public danger, frequently built a temple in honour of ſome god, to whoſe peculiar favour they imputed their ſucceſs or delivery: and ſometimes the general did the like, *at his own expenſe*, to acquit himſelf of ſome pious vow he had made. How little of any thing reſembling this hath been done by us after all our victories! And perhaps for that reaſon, among others, they have turned to ſo little account. But what could we expect? We acted all along as if we believed nothing of a God, or his providence; and therefore it was conſiſtent to offer up our edifices only to *thoſe* whom we looked upon as *givers of all victory* in his ſtead.

I have computed that fifty churches may be built, by a medium, at ſix thouſand pounds for a church, which is ſomewhat *under* the price of a *ſubject's palace*; yet perhaps the care of above two hundred thouſand ſouls, with the benefit of their prayers for the proſperity of their Queen and country, may be almoſt put in the balance
with

with the domestic convenience, or even magnificence of any *subject* whatsoever.

Sir William Petty, who, under the name of Captain Graunt, published some observations upon the bills of mortality about five years after the *restoration*, tells us the parishes in London were even then so unequally divided, that some were two hundred times larger than others. Since that time the increase of trade, the frequency of parliaments, the desire of living in the metropolis, together with that genius for building which began after the *fire*, and hath ever since continued, have prodigiously enlarged this town on all sides, where it was capable of increase; and those tracts of land built into streets have generally continued of the same parish they belonged to while they lay in fields; so that the care of above thirty thousand souls hath been sometimes committed to one minister, whose church would hardly contain the twentieth part of his flock: neither, I think, was any family in those parishes obliged to pay above a groat a-year to their spiritual pastor. Some few of those parishes have been since divided, in others were erected chapels of ease, where a preacher is maintained by general contribution. Such poor shifts and expedients, to the infinite shame and scandal of so vast and flourishing a city, have been thought sufficient for the service of God and religion, as if they were circumstances wholly indifferent.

This defect among other consequences of it hath made *schism* a sort of necessary evil; there being at least three hundred thousand inhabitants in this town whom the churches would not be able to contain, if the people were ever so well disposed: and in a city not overstocked with zeal, the only way to preserve any degree of religion, is to make all attendance upon the duties of it as easy and cheap as possible; whereas, on the contrary, in the larger parishes the press is so great, and the pew-keepers tax so exorbitant, that those who love to save trouble and money, either stay at home or retire to the *conventicles*. I believe there are few examples, in any Christian country, of so great a neglect of religion; and the dissenting teachers have made their advantage largely by it, *sowing tares among the wheat while men slept*, being much more expert

at

at procuring contributions, which is a trade they are bred up in, than men of a liberal education.

And to say truth, the way practised by several parishes in and about this town, of maintaining their clergy by voluntary subscriptions, is not only an indignity to the character, but hath many pernicious consequences attending it; such a precarious dependence subjecting a clergyman, who hath not more than ordinary spirit and resolution, to many inconveniencies, which are obvious to imagine; but this defect will no doubt be remedied by the wisdom and piety of the present parliament, and a tax laid upon every house in a parish for the support of their pastor. Neither indeed can it be conceived, why a house whose purchase is not reckoned above one third less than land of the same yearly rent, should not pay a twentieth part annually (which is half-tithe) to the support of the minister. One thing I could wish, that, in fixing the maintenance of the several ministers in these new-intended parishes, no determinate sum of money may be named, which in all perpetuities ought by any means to be avoided, but rather a tax in proportion to the rent of each house, although it be but a twentieth, or even a thirtieth part. The contrary of this, I am told, was done in several parishes of the city after the *fire*, where the incumbent and his successors were to receive for ever a certain sum; for example, one or two hundred pounds a-year. But the lawgivers did not consider, that what we call at present one hundred pounds will not in process of time have the intrinsic value of twenty; as twenty pounds now are hardly equal to forty shillings three hundred years ago. There are a thousand instances of this all over England in reserved rents applied to hospitals, in old chiefries, and even among the clergy themselves, in those payments which, I think, they call a *modus*.

As no prince had ever better dispositions than her present Majesty for the advancement of true religion; so there never was any age, that produced greater occasions to employ them on. It is an unspeakable misfortune, that any design of so excellent a Queen should be checked by the necessities of a long and ruinous war, which the folly or corruption of *modern politicians* have involved

us in against all the maxims whereby our country flourished so many hundred years: else her Majesty's care of religion would certainly have reached even to her American plantations. Those noble countries stocked by numbers from hence, whereof too many are in no very great reputation for faith or morals, will be a perpetual reproach to us, until some better care be taken for cultivating Christianity among them. If the governors of those several colonies were obliged at certain times to transmit an exact representation of the state of religion in their several districts, and the legislature here would, in time of leisure, take that affair under their consideration, it might be perfected with little difficulty, and be a great addition to the glories of her Majesty's reign.

But, to wave further speculations upon so remote a scene, while we have subjects enough to employ them on at home: it is to be hoped the clergy will not slip any proper opportunity of improving the pious dispositions of the Queen and kingdom for the advantage of the church; when, by the example of times past, they consider how rarely such conjunctures are like to happen. What if some method were thought on towards repairing of churches? for which there is like to be too frequent occasion; those ancient Gothic structures throughout this kingdom going every year to decay. That expedient of repairing or rebuilding them by charitable collections seems, in my opinion, not very suitable either to the dignity and usefulness of the work, or to the honour of our country; since it might be so easily done with very little charge to the public in a much more decent and honourable manner, while parliaments are so frequently called. But these and other regulations must be left to a time of *peace*; which I shall humbly presume to wish may soon be our share, however offensive it may be to any, either *abroad* or at *home*, who are gainers by the war.

N^o 43. Thursday, May 31. 1711.*Scilicet, ut possis curvo dignoscere rectum.*

HAVING been forced in my papers to use the cant words of *Whig* and *Tory*, which have so often varied their significations for twenty years past; I think it necessary to say something of the several changes those two terms have undergone since that period; and then to tell the reader what I have always understood by each of them, since I undertook this work. I reckon that these sorts of conceited appellations are usually invented by the vulgar; who, not troubling themselves to examine thoroughly the merits of a cause, are consequently the most violent partisans of what they espouse, and in their quarrels usually proceed to their beloved argument of calling *names*, until at length they light upon one which is sure to stick: and in time each party grows proud of that appellation, which their adversaries at first intended for a reproach. Of this kind were the *Prasini* and *Veneti*, the *Guelfs* and *Gibelines*, *Huguenots* and *Papists*, *Roundheads* and *Cavaliers*, with many others of ancient and modern date. Among us of late there seems to have been a barrenness of invention in this point; the words *Whig* and *Tory*, although they be not much above thirty years old, having been pressed to the service of many successions of parties with very different ideas fastened to them. This distinction, I think, began towards the latter part of K. Charles II.'s reign, was dropt during that of his successor, and then revived at the *revolution*; since which it hath perpetually flourished, although applied to very different kinds of principles and persons. In that convention of Lords and Commons, some of both houses were for a *regency* to the Prince of Orange, with a reservation of style and title to the absent King, which should be made use of in all public acts: others, when they were brought to allow the throne vacant, thought the succession should immediately go to the next heir, ac-

according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, as if the last King were actually dead. And although the dissenting Lords (in whose house the chief opposition was) did at last yield both those points, took the oaths to the new King, and many of them employments; yet they were looked upon with an evil eye by the warm zealots of the other side; neither did the court ever heartily favour any of them, although some of them were of the most eminent for abilities and virtue, and served that prince both in his councils and his army with untainted faith. It was apprehended at the same time, and perhaps it might have been true, that many of the clergy would have been better pleased with the scheme of a *regency*, or at least an uninterrupted lineal succession, for the sake of those whose consciences were truly *scrupulous*; and they thought there were some circumstances in the case of the deprived bishops, that looked a little hard, or at least deserved commiseration.

These and other the like reflections did, as I conceive, revive the denominations of *Whig* and *Tory*.

Some time after the revolution the distinction of *high* and *low* church came in, which was raised by the Dissenters in order to break the church-party by dividing the members into *high* and *low*; and the opinion raised, that the *high* joined with the *Papists*, inclined the *low* to fall in with the *Dissenters*.

And here I shall take leave to produce some principles, which, in the several periods of the late reign, served to denote a man of one or the other party. To be against a standing army in time of peace was all *High-church*, *Tory*, and *tantivy*; to differ from a majority of bishops was the same. To raise the prerogative above law for serving a turn, was *Low-church* and *Whig*. The opinion of the majority in the house of Commons, especially of the country-party or landed interest, was *High-fly* and rank *Tory*. To exalt the King's supremacy beyond all precedent, was *Low-church*, *Whiggish*, and *Moderate*. To make the least doubt of the pretended Prince's being supposititious, and a *filer's* son, was, in their phrase, *Top* and *Top-gallant*, and *perfect Jacobitism*. To resume the most exorbitant grants that were ever given to a set of profligate favourites, and
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apply them to the public, was the very quintessence of *Toryism*: notwithstanding those grants were known to be acquired by sacrificing the honour and the wealth of England.

In most of these principles the two parties seem to have shifted opinions, since their institution under K. Charles II. and indeed to have gone very different from what was expected from each, even at the time of the *revolution*. But as to that concerning the pretender, the *Whigs* have so far renounced it, that they are grown the great advocates for his legitimacy: which gives me the opportunity of vindicating a Noble Duke, who was accused of a blunder in the house, when upon a certain Lord's mentioning the *pretended prince*, his Grace told the Lords, *He must be plain with them, and call that person, not the pretended prince, but the pretended impostor*: which was so far from a blunder in that polite Lord, as his ill-willers give out, that it was only a refined way of delivering the avowed sentiments of his whole party.

But to return: This was the state of principles, when the Queen came to the crown; some time after which it pleased *certain great persons*, who had been all their lives in the altitude of *Tory* profession, to enter into a treaty with the *Whigs*, from whom they could get better terms than from their old friends, who began to be resty, and would not allow monopolies of power and favour, nor consent to carry on the war entirely at the expense of this nation, that they might have pensions from abroad; while another people, more immediately concerned in the war, traded with the enemy as in times of peace; whereas the other party, whose case appeared then as desperate, was ready to yield to any conditions that would bring them into play. And I cannot help affirming, that this nation was made a sacrifice to the unmeasurable appetite of power and wealth in *a very few*, that shall be nameless, who, in every step they made, acted directly against what they had always professed. And if his Royal Highness the Prince * had died some years sooner, (who was a perpe-

* Prince George of Denmark.

tual check in their career), it is dreadful to think how far they might have proceeded.

Since that time the bulk of the *Whigs* appeareth rather to be linked to a certain set of *persons*, than any certain set of *principles*; so that if I were to define a member of that party, I should say, He was one *who believed in the late ministry*. And therefore whatever I have affirmed of *Whigs* in any of these papers, or objected against them, ought to be understood either of those who were partisans of the late men in power and privy to their designs, or such who joined with them from a hatred to our monarchy and church, as unbelievers and *Dissenters* of all sizes; or men in office, who had been guilty of much corruption, and dreaded a change, which would not only put a stop to further abuses for the future, but might perhaps introduce examinations of what was past; or those who had been too highly obliged to quit their supporters with any common decency; or lastly, the *money-traders*, who could never hope to make their markets so well of *premiums*, and exorbitant interest, and high remittances, by any other administration.

Under these heads may be reduced the whole body of those whom I have all along understood for *Whigs*; for I do not include within this number any of those who have been misled by ignorance, or seduced by plausible pretences, to think better of that sort of men than they deserve, and to apprehend mighty dangers from their disgrace; because, I believe, the greatest part of such well-meaning people are now thoroughly converted.

And indeed it must be allowed, that the two fantastic names of *Whig* and *Tory* have at present very little relation to those opinions, which were at first thought to distinguish them. Whoever formerly professed himself to approve the *revolution*, to be against the pretender, to justify the succession in the house of Hanover, to think the British monarchy not absolute, but limited by laws which the executive power could not dispense with, and to allow an indulgence to scrupulous consciences; such a man was content to be called a *Whig*. On the other side, whoever asserted the Queen's hereditary right, that the persons of princes were sacred, their lawful authority not to be resist-
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ed on any pretence ; nor even their usurpations, without the most extreme necessity ; that breaches in the succession were highly dangerous ; that *schism* was a great evil both in itself and its consequences ; that the ruin of the *church* would probably be attended with that of the *state* ; that no power should be trusted with those who are not of the established religion, such a man was usually called a *Tory*. Now, although the opinions of both these are very consistent, and I really think are maintained at present by a great majority of the kingdom ; yet according as men apprehend the danger greater, either from the *pretender* and his party, or from the violence and cunning of other *enemies* to the constitution, so their common discourses and reasonings turn either to the first or second set of these opinions I have mentioned, and they are consequently styled either *Whigs* or *Tories* : Which is as if two *brothers* apprehended their house would be set upon, but disagreed about the place from whence they thought the *robbers* would come, and therefore would go on different sides to defend it ; they must needs weaken and expose themselves by such a *separation* ; and so did we, only our case was worse ; for in order to keep off a *weak remote enemy*, from whom we could not suddenly apprehend any danger, we took a *nearer* and a *stronger* one into the *house*. I make no comparison at all between the two enemies ; *Popery* and *Slavery* are without doubt the greatest and most dreadful of any ; but I may venture to affirm, that the fears of these have not, at least since the *revolution*, been so close and pressing upon us as that from *another faction* ; excepting only one short period, when the leaders of that very faction invited the abdicated king to return ; of which I have formerly taken notice.

Having thus declared, what sort of persons I have always meant under the denomination of *Whigs*, it will be easy to shew whom I understand by *Tories*. Such whose principles in church and state are what I have above related ; whose actions are derived from thence, and who have no attachment to any set of *ministers*, further than as they are friends to the constitution in all its parts ; but will do their utmost to save their prince and country, *whoever* be at the helm.

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By these descriptions of *Whig* and *Tory*, I am sensible those names are given to several persons very undeservedly; and that many a man is called by one or the other, who has not the least title to the blame or praise I have bestowed on each of them throughout my papers.

No 44. Thursday, June 7. 1711.

Magna vis est, magnum nomen, unum et idem sentientis senatus.

W^Hoever calls to mind the clamour and the calumny, the artificial fears and jealousies, the shameful misrepresentation of persons and of things, that were raised and spread by the leaders and instruments of a *certain party*, upon the change of the last ministry and dissolution of parliament; if he be a true lover of his country, must feel a mighty pleasure, although mixed with some indignation, to see the wishes, the conjectures, the endeavours of an inveterate faction entirely disappointed; and this important period wholly spent in restoring the prerogative of the prince, and liberty to the subject; in reforming past abuses and preventing future, supplying old deficiencies, providing for debts, restoring the clergy to their rights, and taking care of the necessities of the church; and all this unattended with any of those misfortunes which some men *hoped* for, while they pretended to *fear*.

For my own part, I must confess, the difficulties appeared so great to me from such a noise and shew of opposition, that I thought nothing but the absolute necessity of affairs could ever justify so daring an attempt. But a wise and good prince, at the head of an able ministry, and of a senate freely chosen, all united to pursue the true interest of their country, is a power against which the little inferior politics of any faction will be able to make no long resistance. To this we may add one additional strength, which,

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in the opinion of our adversaries, is the greatest and justest of any ; I mean the *vox populi*, so indisputably declarative on the same side. I am apt to believe, when these discarded politicians begin seriously to consider all this, they will think it proper to give out, and reserve their wisdom for some more convenient juncture.

It is pleasant enough to observe, that those who were the chief instruments of raising the noise, who started fears, bespoke dangers, and formed ominous prognostics, in order to scare the *allies*, to spirit the French, and fright ignorant people at home, made use of those very opinions themselves had broached, for arguments to prove, that the change of ministers was dangerous and unseasonable. But if a house be *swept*, the more occasion is there for such a work, the more *dust* it will raise ; if it be going to *ruin*, the *repairs*, however necessary, will *make a noise*, and *disturb the neighbourhood* a while. And as to the rejoicings made in France, if it be true that they had any, upon the news of those alterations among us ; their joy was grounded upon the *same hopes* with that of the *Whigs*, who comforted themselves, that the change of ministry and parliament would infallibly put us all into confusion, increase our divisions, and destroy our credit, wherein I suppose by this time they are *equally* undeceived.

But this long session being in a manner ended, which several circumstances, and one *accident* altogether unforeseen, have drawn out beyond the usual time ; it may be some small piece of justice to so excellent an assembly, barely to mention a few of those great things they have done for the service of their Queen and country, which I shall take notice of just as they come to my memory.

The credit of the nation began mightily to suffer by a discount upon exchequer-bills, which have been generally reckoned the surest and most sacred of all securities. The present Lord Treasurer, then a member of the house of Commons, proposed a method, which was immediately complied with, of raising them to a *par* with *specie* ; and so they have ever since continued.

The British colonies of Nevis and St Christopher's had been miserably plundered by the French, their houses burnt, their plantations destroyed, and many of the inhabitants

bitants carried away prisoners; they had often, for some years past, applied in vain for relief from hence; until the present parliament, considering their condition as a case of justice and mercy, voted them one hundred thousand pounds by way of recompense in some manner for their sufferings.

Some persons, whom the voice of the nation authoriseth me to call her *enemies*, taking advantage of the general naturalization-act, had invited over a great number of foreigners of all religions, under the name of *Palatines*, who understood no trade or handicraft, yet rather chose to beg than labour; who, besides infesting our streets, bred contagious diseases, by which we lost in *natives* thrice the number of what we gained in *foreigners*. The house of Commons, as a remedy against this evil, brought in a bill for repealing that act of general naturalization; which, to the surprise of most people, was rejected by the Lords. And upon this occasion I must allow myself to have been justly rebuked by one of my weekly monitors for pretending, in a former paper, to hope that law would be repealed; wherein the Commons being disappointed, took care however to send many of the *Palatines* away, and to represent their being invited over as a pernicious counsel.

The *qualification-bill*, incapacitating all men to serve in parliament, who have not some estate in land either in possession or certain reversion, is perhaps the greatest security that ever was contrived for preserving the constitution, which otherwise might in a little time lie wholly at the mercy of the *moneyed* interest. And since much the greatest part of the taxes is paid either immediately from land or from its productions, it is but common justice, that those who are the proprietors, should appoint what portion of it ought to go to the support of the public; otherwise the ingrossers of money would be apt to lay heavy loads on others, which themselves never touch with one of their fingers.

The public debts were so prodigiously increased by the negligence and corruption of those who had been managers of the revenue, that the late ministers, like careless men who run out their fortunes, were so far from any thoughts

thoughts of payment, that they had not the courage to state or compute them. The parliament found, that thirty-five millions had never been accounted for; and that the debt on the navy, wholly unprovided for, amounted to nine millions. The late Chancellor of the Exchequer *, suitable to his transcendent genius for public affairs, proposed a fund to be security for that immense debt, which is now confirmed by a law, and is likely to prove the greatest restoration and establishment of the kingdom's credit. Not content with this, the legislature hath appointed commissioners of accounts to inspect into past mismanagements of the public money, and prevent them for the future.

I have, in a former paper, mentioned the act for building fifty new churches in London and Westminster, with a fund appropriated for that pious and noble work. But while I am mentioning acts of piety, it would be unjust to conceal my Lord High Treasurer's concern for religion, which hath extended even to another kingdom: his Lordship having some months ago obtained of her Majesty the first fruits and tenths to the clergy of Ireland, as he is known to have before done to that Reverend body here †.

The act for carrying on a trade to the South-sea, proposed by the same great person, whose thoughts are perpetually employed, and ever with success, on the good of his country, will in all probability, if duly executed, be of mighty advantage to the kingdom, and an everlasting honour to the present parliament.

I might go on further, and mention that seasonable law against excessive gaming; the putting a stop to that scandalous fraud of false musters in the guards; the diligent and effectual inquiry made by the Commons into several gross abuses. I might produce many instances of their impartial justice in deciding controverted elections against former example, and great provocations to retaliate. I might shew their chearful readiness in granting such vast

* Earl of Oxford.

† See the author's letters to Archbishop King, vol. 6. p. 212.---217.

supplies;

supplies; their great unanimity, not to be broken by all the arts of a malicious and cunning faction; their unfeigned duty to the Queen; and lastly, that representation made to her Majesty from the house of Commons, discovering such a spirit and disposition in that noble assembly to redress all those evils which a long male-administration had brought upon us.

It is probable, that trusting only to my memory I may have omitted many things of great importance; neither do I pretend further, in the compass of this paper, than to give the world some general, however imperfect, idea how worthily this great assembly hath discharged the trust of those who so freely chose them; and what we may reasonably hope and expect from the piety, courage, wisdom, and loyalty of such excellent patriots in a time so fruitful of occasions to exert the greatest abilities.

And now I conceive the main design I had in writing these papers is fully executed. A great majority of the nation is at length thoroughly convinced, that the Queen proceeded with the highest wisdom in changing her ministry and parliament; that under a former administration the greatest abuses of all kinds were committed, and the most dangerous attempts against the constitution for some time intended. The whole kingdom finds the present persons in power directly and openly pursuing the true service of their Queen and country; and to be such whom their most bitter enemies cannot tax with bribery, covetousness, ambition, pride, insolence, or any pernicious principles in religion or government.

For my own particular, those little barking curs, which have so constantly pursued me, I take to be of no further consequence to what I have written, than the scoffing slaves of old, placed behind the chariot to put the general in mind of his mortality; which was but a thing of form, and made no stop or disturbance in the show. However, if those perpetual snarlers against me had the same design, I must own they have effectually compassed it; since nothing can well be more mortifying than to reflect, that I am of the same species with creatures capable of uttering so much scurrility, dulness, falsehood, and impertinence, to the scandal and disgrace of human nature.

N^o 45.

Thursday, June 14. 1711.

Melius non tangere clamo.

WHen a general hath conquered an army, and reduced a country to obedience, he often findeth it necessary to send out small bodies, in order to take in petty castles and forts; and beat little straggling parties, which are otherwise apt to make head and infest the neighbourhood. This case resembleth mine. I count the main body of the *Whigs* entirely subdued; at least, until they appear with new reinforcements, I shall reckon them as such; and therefore do now find myself at leisure to *examine* inferior abuses. The business I have left, is to fall on those wretches who would still be keeping the war on foot, when they have no country to defend, no forces to bring into the field, nor any thing remaining, but their bare good-will towards *faction* and *mischief*; I mean, the present set of writers, whom I have suffered, without molestation, so long to infest the town. If there were not a concurrence from prejudice, party, weak understanding, and misrepresentation, I should think them too inconsiderable in themselves to deserve correction: but, as my endeavour hath been to expose the gross impositions of the *fallen party*, I will give a taste, in the following petition, of the sincerity of their *factories*; to shew how little those writers for the *Whigs* were guided by conscience or honour; their business being only to gratify a private interest.

To the Right Honourable the present Ministry, the humble petition of the Party-writers of the late Ministry,

Humbly sheweth,

T H A T your petitioners have served their time to the trade of writing pamphlets, and weekly papers, in de-

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sence of the Whigs, against the church of England, and the Christian religion, and her Majesty's prerogative, and title to the crown: that, since the late change of her ministry, and meeting of this parliament, the said trade is mightily fallen off, and the call for the said pamphlets and papers much less than formerly; and it is feared, to our further prejudice, that the Examiner may discontinue writing; whereby some of your petitioners will be brought to utter distress; for as much as through false quotations, noted absurdities, and other legal abuses, many of your petitioners, to their great comfort and support, were enabled to pick up a weekly subsistence out of the said Examiner.

That your said poor petitioners did humbly offer your Honours to write in defence of the late change of ministry and parliament, much cheaper than they did for your predecessors: which your Honours were pleased to refuse.

Notwithstanding which offer, your petitioners are under daily apprehension, that your Honours will forbid them to follow the said trade any longer; by which your petitioners, to the number of fourscore, with their wives and families, will inevitably starve; having been bound to no other calling.

Your petitioners desire your Honours will tenderly consider the premises, and suffer your said petitioners to continue their trade, (those who set them at work, being still willing to employ them, although at lower rates), and your said petitioners will give security to make use of the *same stuff*, and dress it in the *same manner*, as they always did, and no other.

And your petitioners, &c.

It is a certain sign, that a man is in the right, when he raiseth all the scribblers against him: I have sometimes had it in my head to write a particular history of abuses and corruptions. As I find myself at leisure this summer, I shall pursue the design; where, besides enumerating the gross defect, not only of duty and respect to the most gracious Queen that ever reigned; I propose to shew in every article,

article, how wrong all things were managed under the late ministry; how right they are now, and according to the *constitution*. Such a history would be the best means, not only to expose the principal actors; but the weekly hirelings who toil in their defence; who are so notoriously disingenuous, so distant from matter of fact, so short of that spirit and entertainment which too often mingle with such pens as dip only in falsties; that, if I were to rake into their particular absurdities, (an attempt which they are secured from by their excessive dulness), I should have reason to look upon my sufferings as little short of the merit of that Roman, who, by leaping into a bottomless gulf, sacrificed his life to preserve his country.

I have been often wondering how it comes to pass, that the late men in power should be so ill provided with writers; considering at what full leisure the heads and leaders of them are, and I hope will ever be; they might certainly have made a wiser and more judicious collection. If, as some imagine, their own hands have dipt in ink, and that they themselves have a share in dressing up the *Medley* and *Observer*; it is a plain discovery, that their speculations are as mean and low as their practices: for how can we conceive that the politeness and sound judgment of *one*, should ever descend to Billingsgate, pedantry, and nonsense? Or that a *second*, who oweth his reputation of wit to his neighbours, should every day make his court officiously to a certain great minister, and yet once a-week so clumsily abuse him in his writings? When I consider the factious spirit (if any spirit they have) of these papers, I can hardly look for the author of them in *one*, who, by what means soever better convinced, had once so much of that sort of loyalty as to profess himself a *Nonjuror*.

With humble submission to worse judgments, I must determine that the author of the *Medley* is a dance out of his element; pretending to intermeddle with *raillery* and *irony*, wherein he hath no manner of taste or understanding: his topic of *raillery* may be all reduced under those two words, QUOTH HE; which he seldom faileth, in any one of his papers, to be arch with. His *irony* consisteth of the words, MY FRIEND, although sometimes relieved with an epithet. Doth he think that when he saith my

impious friend, my *stupid friend*, and the like ; saith it in every paper, and often a dozen times in one ; that this is either wit, humour, or satire ? If I were *impious* or *stupid*, I should really hope to be his friend, and think he spoke in earnest. *Irony* is not a work for such groveling pens, but extreme difficult, even to the best ; it is one of the most beautiful strokes of *rhétoric*, and which asketh a master-hand to carry on and finish with success : but when a bungler attempteth beyond his skill ; what was at first misshapen, with awkward polishing becometh entirely deformed : as the false beauty of paint upon a lady's face is less desirable than no beauty at all ; and the pertness of a shallow fop, more disagreeable than his silence.

I should not have descended so much below the dignity of this paper, as to regard the course of these muddy writers, did not the heads of the late faction still endeavour to corrupt the minds of weak people, who are at a distance from the metropolis, by their diligence and liberality in circulating these weekly poisons *gratis*. Great numbers are constantly sent into the country, to prepossess the reader against the *Examiner* ; for no other reason, but because they would still mislead and prevent their being set right in facts, that they might not see how well the people did to assist the church and Queen : to this end they have been forced to make use of gross falsties, without the least appearance of truth : but, however, those more modest of their party here, may blush and wonder at the assurance of their friends ; it serves their design in the country, where truth arrives late ; and since the mercy of the government, or rather a just contempt, still suffers these writers to continue these efforts, it is not doubted *there*, but what they deliver is, at least, free from notorious falsehood. But those clouds of ignorance will certainly fly before that light, which now shines throughout the nation from the *representation* offered to her Majesty, by the best *house of Commons* that ever sat ; who come the nearest to our *happy constitution*, both in the freedom of their elections, and that true English spirit, which have unanimously carried the majority of them *through*, to the end of this memorable *sessions*. In which *representation* the people may be convinced, that five parts in six of what
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the *Examiners* have charged on the late ministry and faction are true: which is so glorious, so unanswerable a justification of these papers, that any longer to declaim against them, will be as vain and insignificant, as it hath always been a ridiculous endeavour.

N^o 46. Thursday, June 21. 1711.

Pauca tamen suberunt priscae vestigia fraudis.

I Hope my countrymen will believe, that I have a very good occasion to congratulate with them upon the Queen's speech: all the honest part must be of opinion, that nothing ever proceeded from the throne more glorious for our representatives in parliament; or more gracious and satisfactory to the nation. Could there, amidst that awful assembly, be any heart untouched at the voice of such a Queen? Recollecting her piety, the uprightness of her life, her unwearied prayers and endeavours for the prosperity of her people; from whose interests hers were never divided.

Her Majesty filled every loyal breast with joy, when, with her graceful air, and elegant manner of delivery, she told her parliament, *The pleasure she took to see the performance of those promises they had made her at the beginning of the sessions; their complying with her desire to propagate the service of God, in the building so many new churches: enabling her to carry on the war; making effectual provision for paying those debts, which were almost grown an insupportable burthen on the public; when our enemies every where flattered themselves, that supplies for the service of the current year could not have been found.*

Could any thing be more grateful to true British spirits, who had done their utmost towards retrieving our disorders, than to be applauded for disappointing the enemies of the nation, *in all respects!* Not only by their raising greater sums than ever were granted to any prince, in one session;

but for restoring *public credit*, a blessing so invaluable, and so much despaired of by our enemies, that they concluded it impossible for the ministry and parliament to extricate us out of those amazing difficulties, whereinto we had been plunged. And truly, if we impartially consider the measures upon which the late men in power proceeded, we shall find it extremely difficult to give any satisfactory account to reason or policy, for their notorious depeculations, (if my friend the *Medley* will give me leave to make use of that word); unless, like some momentary conquerors, they resolved to waste that empire they could not keep.

I am very well assured, that the former ministry, after a long run of ill husbandry, were often at their wits-end (until things grew riper for that change they had projected) how to prevent, from breaking all at once upon the public, that report which they knew would ruin their designs. The whole government subsisted upon present credit, although vast sums were annually given to support the war; which were so far from being applied this way, that every year we were plunged more and more in debt. It is true, the parliament voted subsidies, and the willing people cheerfully paid them, in hopes, by an honourable peace, they should quickly see the end of their miseries and taxes: yet the arrear to the navy, and other charges, ran on; the ministry put a good face upon a decaying constitution; they employed all their arts to conceal the real distress we were in; they procured that money should be lent at five *per cent.* whilst the unhappy creditors were forced to give from 20 to 40 *per cent.* discount, for every farthing they received upon the bills assigned them by the government. This they very well knew was such ill management as could not be long concealed: they had separately and prodigiously enriched themselves, to preserve their wealth and authority; but now they must invade the constitution. As to their own possessions, an *act of indemnity* had secured them: and for the rest, they had little more to *risk*, than whether they should remain opulent subjects, although without any share in the power; or become masters without limitation.

Avarice is ever insatiable! How then must it destroy,
when

when it has the wealth of a nation to feed on? The miseries of the people, the tears and groans of poor seamen and their families, were not regarded by these devourers; universal frauds and abuses not only winked at, but encouraged; trade not dying, but dead. It is true, public credit was still alive, but subsisted only upon strong cordials; in utter ignorance of her approaching dissolution. Yet no one step was made by these *state-physicians*, towards preventing her apparent decease; much less did they take any thought about curing the malady they had occasioned; they were not so void of reason as to be ignorant of the condition they had reduced us to; they did know it, and stood provided of a *remedy* to secure themselves, (which a little time would perfect to their wish), and which all good subjects must tremble to think on; a *remedy* a thousand times worse than the *disease*; where, instead of an *indulgent lawful* Queen, we must have referred to a lawless *junto*, and to an *arbitrary captain-general*.

But now, God be praised, our fears are dissipated: the Queen is *free*, and acts entirely according to her own judgment and inclination; the parliament acquiesceth in whatever she requireth: we have proved the happy effects of their mutual confidence; and, as her Majesty telleth us from the throne, *she shall look upon any attempt to lessen it, as a step towards dissolving her government*.

I could make many useful reflections upon the present happy change of our condition; the different state of security to our constitution, wherein this session hath left us, from the fears that possessed us upon the ending of the last; the dread and apprehension the majority of the kingdom were then in, lest *that* parliament should sit any more; the longings and impatiencies of the people, until her Majesty shall think fit, that *those* may meet again.

While the sinking credit of the nation hath been thus retrieved, by the great abilities and industry of the present ministry and parliament; the *convocation*, no less usefully employed in the cause of piety, have drawn up a *representation of the present state of religion, with regard to the late excessive growth of infidelity, heresy, and profaneness*; unanimously agreed upon a joint committee of both houses of the province of Canterbury; and afterwards

wards rejected by the upper house, but passed in the lower.

I am sorry these pious labourers should be baffled in their godly endeavours by their own brethren. I have formerly, in two *Examiners*, touched upon the nature of this *synod*, and their divisions, together with the Queen's letter, and desire to reconcile all differences and disputes; and hoped to see the happy effects of her exhortation. The *inferior clergy* have proceeded with a spirit truly primitive; their *representation* is writ with such force of eloquence and argument, as must warm the coldest heart. The narrow compass of this paper will not permit me to enumerate all the heads: "They trace the deluge of *impiety* from that long and unnatural rebellion, which "loosened all the bands of discipline and order; whence "hypocrisy and enthusiasm begat a disregard for the very "appearance of religion; and ended in a spirit of downright libertinism and profaneness: whence adversaries "arose, who openly scattered the poison of *Arian* and "Socinian heresies; the Godhead of the Holy Spirit denied; mysteries exploded, as implying contradictions, "and incapable of becoming objects of assent to reasonable minds, &c. From these wicked principles, wicked practices have followed; frequency of oaths and "imprecations; all manner of excess and luxury, gambling upon the Lord's day," &c. Upon which I must beg leave to subjoin, that a certain late *great minister* (in the good company of Sir James of the Peak, and others of the same sort) always made play his Sunday's entertainment.

In this *representation* we have a melancholy prospect of the state of our religion; such amazing impieties can be equalled by nothing but by those cities of old destroyed by fire from heaven: nor can that deluge of profaneness, which over-runs the nation, have any check from the pious endeavours of our clergy, whilst the majority, on one part, continue to disagree with the other, about the manner of putting essentials in execution. Mean time, the cause of Christianity must suffer, and our *convocations* still have the disreputation of doing *nothing*. The *representation*

tion which themselves have transmitted to the lower house, is the same in very many of the facts. As to the difference of style and spirit, I conceive that doth not relate to the service of religion in general, any more than when I am excessive cold, whether I would chuse to be warmed by a quicker or more languid fire. Nor can I without pleasure take notice of one paragraph; where they hope, *that especial care will be had of the education of young people at the universities; that tutors may teach their pupils the principles of the Christian religion, and endeavour to make them serious in it; with a particular eye to all such who are designed for holy orders.* Where such Reverend prelates are concerned, it were a sort of sacrilege to dispute their sincerity: after this, dare any person imagine that their doctrine and their intentions can differ; or, that so grave and venerable a body, upon so solemn an occasion, would deal in *irony*, or explain their meaning by contraries? This must doubtless convince all such who have hitherto, upon a wrong interpretation, presumed to square opinions by theirs, and have, with loud exclamations, shewn their abhorrence of an university-education, as tainting our youth with the principles of *loyalty* to sovereigns, and an implicit obedience to the slavish doctrines of the church.

As this admonition must satisfy such who surmised, that the majority did not approve educating children in the university; so the unhappy stop that hath been put to the designed *representation*, hath given the enemies of our holy religion (too numerous and politic a party to be armed by ourselves against ourselves) a seeming occasion to deride our divisions: and, as if those solemn proceedings were all but a jest, these ungodly persons are not afraid to be merry with the conceit of the upper house's dissenting from what five of their own members had before in a committee agreed to in the lower; as if they were acting a religious farce, called, *A convocation and no convocation*; nor will they believe our bishops can have such concurrent fears of the growth of *impiety*, when they do not proceed in the means that should put an effectual stop to it, only for a *form*; or, to use the words of our church-adversaries,
until

until the last remaining incroachment be made by the upper house upon the privileges of the lower.

These reflections are arrows in the heart of every honest churchman; we would recriminate in vain, our enemies flatter themselves we lie too open for a defence: We must therefore be content to wait with *patience* and *prayer* for a remedy to these *misfortunes*, until the *Lord of the harvest*, in his good time, *shall separate the tares from the wheat*.

N^o 47. Thursday, June 26. 1711.

*Consolor socios ut longi tedia belli
Mente ferant placida.*

I Suppose some wit and much leisure have made it a fashion among ingenious persons, to send letters, by way of assistance, to us weekly writers. It is easy to imagine, that I have had my share of such contributions; for which, although I be very thankful, yet I must confess, with some vanity, that my mind is rather burdened than relieved by those intelligences. If I take notice of some, and not of others, I proportionably disoblige; however, as they fall in my way, I promise to do what lieth in my power, towards introducing into the world the works of those *anonymous* persons who are so fond of being authors.

In the first place, out of his exceeding zeal to the cause, *one* is alarmed at the industry of the *Whigs*, in aiming to strengthen their *routed party*, by a reinforcement from the circumcised; as not contented with *Arians*, *Socinians*, *Freethinkers*, and all sorts of *Christian sectaries*; besides a considerable number of *apostates*, or if you please *deferters*, from our own body; and therefore recommendeth to me, that some care may be taken to put a stop to these gallimaufry meetings, these prohibited conjunctions of Jews and Christians; since in order to bring
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those infidels within the wide circle of *Whiggish* community, neither blandishments nor promises are omitted; the very women proving accessaries; as for example, a certain *great lady*, with some beauteous auxiliaries, did not disdain to grace Sir Solomon Medina's magnificent ball and collation; nor was the young Duchesse (although a toast of the first rate) in the least disgusted at giving her hand to dance in partnership with a frowzy Jew.

Another person sendeth me a letter, complaining of the small reputation of the Queen's physicians. This careful person seemeth to belong to the church by his expression, where he blames the late ministry for imitating Jeroboam, who ordained priests out of the lowest of the people; and confining that sacred life, the *breath of our nostrils*, to the charge and care of such men, to whose slender abilities they would be very far from trusting their own.

The third cometh from a sufferer under the late *junto*; one, who remaining fully satisfied of his own merit, repines that others have not the like valuable estimation; and are not expeditious enough in rewarding the said merit: he therefore recommendeth to me a subject, necessary to be read by all who have pretensions, or live in a court, called, *The nature of delay; or, The virtues and advantages of procrastination*.

A fourth person is sensibly piqued at the Medley's popular reflection, *That the Queen's most gracious speech should be printed in Abel's Post-boy, with this very just conclusion: But we have lived to see the day wherein every thing great and illustrious among men is treated with an unbecoming familiarity: all orders of men must expect to be huddled into the vile multitude; and used as if they had not sense of glory or infamy*. My correspondent inquireth, what devil owes this writer and his party a shame, to make him talk of a day? that scandalous day! when insignificant pages and forward attorney-clerks were hoisted above the knowledge of themselves, or their remembrance of others; not only perverting to their several uses the treasure of the nation, but presuming to give laws even to their sovereign; that was, indeed, a day which we have all lived to see, when all things great
and

and illustrious among men, were, by arrogant upstarts, treated not only with an unbecoming familiarity, but with treachery and pride; when it might be truly said, that, under such petty and yet arbitrary dispensation, all orders of men were huddled into the vile multitude, and used as if they had not sense of glory or infamy.

The fifth letter recounts a scandalous passage that happened at the auction of the late Mr Bernard's library; and prayeth me to give all besitting discouragement to such enormities. It seemeth some gentlemen were talking of a scarce book which treated of spirits and apparitions; one of them asked Mr Toland, what he thought of *ghosts*? whether he had any belief of such things? He readily answered, he was so far from believing *ghosts*, that he did not believe what men call the *Holy Ghost*.

The next (whom I shall do the favour to shew at length, because he calleth himself a *Whig*, and may possibly charge me with an unfair quotation, if I sink any part of what he hath wrote) sends me an invitation to come over to his side; but lest this may be thought *gasconade*, I had best refer to the original letter.

S I R,

“ YOU have stood the flock of the shallow writers,
 “ aided by the best *finishers* of our party, with so much
 “ reputation, and so much to their confusion, that I, who
 “ have a value for your person and abilities (but an aver-
 “ sion to your cause), advise you to renounce the *Tories*,
 “ and come over to *us*. Their business is done, they
 “ have no more occasion for your pen; you must there-
 “ fore expect to be neglected and forgotten, as your fellow-
 “ labourers have been. Whom have they ever reward-
 “ ed? They go quite contrary to our maxim; none, al-
 “ though ever so undeserving, have suffered imprison-
 “ ment and hardship for us; but we look upon it as our
 “ common interest to protect and uphold them, because
 “ we have but *one*, the *Tories* as many interests as there
 “ are persons. Besides, in writing for the strongest side,
 “ you have commiseration against you: nor need your a-
 “ postasy fear finding its account, for the reasons before
 “ mentioned,

“ mentioned, and one more very considerable, which is,
 “ that false witnesses are always well paid. The only ob-
 “ jection can be made against this proposal, is, you may
 “ think, perhaps, you have so far incensed us by your
 “ many discoveries of our *arcana*, that you cannot ex-
 “ pect to be received with any degree of warmth or con-
 “ fidence. If this be your opinion, you are a great stran-
 “ ger to our principles; we never refuse to accept an ene-
 “ my with open arms, when we can thereby strengthen
 “ our own, or weaken our adversaries party; we are so
 “ far true politicians, that both our love and hatred al-
 “ ways give way to our interest; but besides, all must
 “ know our own blind side, which was never proof a-
 “ gainst flattery, how fulsome or unjust soever. How
 “ many authors, with no other merit, flourished under
 “ the late ministry! I would therefore advise you to
 “ write a treatise, which will be very fashionable and use-
 “ ful, called, *The art of shifting sides*, and dedicate it
 “ in these, or the like terms.

To all honest Whig-gentlemen, and virtuous Whig-ladies,
 in and about the cities and liberties of London and
 Westminster.

GENTLEMEN and LADIES,

A MAN who ventures to publish bold truths in these
 days of Toryism and arbitrary government, unless he hath
 a powerful interest to support him, must expect to be scur-
 vily treated by the persecuting part of the world: with-
 out very good seconds, he may shew abundance of zeal,
 but little discretion; like those knights of old, who used
 to plunge alone into the midst of armed foes. The only
 difference between the courage of the hero, and that of
 the author, seemeth to lie in the success: one meeteth with
 Tyburn, Newgate, or at best a messenger; whilst the o-
 ther gallantly rescueth his mistress, or carrieth off the
 prize. For this reason I presume to apply to you for pro-
 tection, and I hope to make my future services atone for
 my past offences. You are too considerable, both in num-

ber and power, to fear a defeat; and too zealous of the truth, to suffer its champion to be borne down and trampled upon by enemies.

Gentlemen, Your very adversaries cannot deny but you have more money than they, and consequently must give up the superiority of wit: and, although they have disputed the point of honesty, it appears the balance now lieth entirely on your side; witness the many unanswerable steps you have taken for the good of the nation, the wonders of your late administration, your respect and honour for the true interest of your Queen and country, your concern for the public credit, and your readiness to advance money upon great emergencies, where the safety of the state so eminently required it.

Ladies, Were your plea to virtue and beauty less evident, you might stand more in need of a champion; but I never heard any who durst presume to say, you have more virtue than beauty, or less humility than prudence; you shine in your zeal for the cause, and your condescension is so bright a part of your character, that there are few men, how despicable soever, but what have found the happy effect of it.

S I R,

“ By my intimacy and station among them, I have so
 “ exact a knowledge of what will please, that I have sent
 “ you this rough draught, which I will undertake to be
 “ the universal sense of our party; only leaving you to
 “ model it, after such a manner as you think best. I
 “ hope, you will not defer your conversion, but con-
 “ clude this a mark of my kindness for you. Pray make
 “ your advantage of this advice, and you will very much
 “ rejoice,

S I R,

Your affectionate friend,

and humble servant.

N^o 48. Thursday, July 12. 1711.

— *Neque semper arcum
Tendit Apollo.*

IT sometimes happens that I am either sick, or lazy, or splenetic; and sometimes, perhaps like other authors of great reputation, I am dull by design. In such unclucid intervals it falleth out, that three or four of my papers are inferior to the rest: however, the credit of the former keeps them up a while; and even judicious people are often prejudiced for a week or two in their favour; or perhaps are so candid to expect a better next time. But the majority of readers go on with the same appetite, whether the paper be good or bad, until they are taught by their betters what their sentiments are to be. It thus fa-
reth between me and the *Medley*, who, although he hath been always so liberal with his epithets, as if he had them by him ready printed, and had nothing to do every week but fill up the blanks; yet, in one or two of his last papers he hath outdone himself, because somebody hath told him that the *Examiner* is grown dull. I fear they have told him truth: and how can it be otherwise, when I am descended from animadverting upon the corruptions in the late administration, to be an antagonist of his? I had hopes of giving some diversion to the town and myself, during this idle season of the year, by exposing the follies of his productions; but find I have been unhappily infected with the stupidity I design to ridicule. This *Medler* is the perfect reverse of Sir John Falstaffe; he is not only dull himself, but he is also the cause that dulness is in other men.

However, I think I have found out a way to read his papers, from henceforward, without danger to my understanding; and therefore I now give him notice, that I design to write with wit and spirit for some time; which otherwise he would hardly apprehend until about a month hence.

He hath injured me in saying, *I insult her Majesty's
physicians:*

physicians : I only repeat the words of my correspondent : if the Queen discard her present physicians, he is at a loss how we shall find *Tories* to supply their places : *because*, he assureth us, *the Tories are as great quacks in science as in politics*. If the trial of quackery must be determined by skill in politics, I dare appeal to the *Whig* physicians themselves to decide which are the quacks ; and whether the *Tories* of the faculty have not made much better prognostics upon the body-politic, by chusing to adhere to the present ministry.

And, if respect to the Queen's person be the question ; the *Medley* sure is not well in his wits, to revive the memory of that defect for which some of his party have been famous. Suppose him really ignorant ; upon ever so little recollection of any of his friends, he may quickly be informed which side have the best pretence that way to favour ; since this writer, and I am glad to find it, can admit reverence and duty to her Majesty are, although late, come to be considered as a sort of merit.

Methinks this person, who will be my friend whether I will or no, putteth himself and me to much more trouble than he needeth. If he would fairly cavil with me paper by paper, and then have done, there might be some hopes ; but without end, I am to be perpetually worried and punished this month for the sins of the last ; so that it is not properly *this Medley contra that Examiner*, but *every Medley against every Examiner* : when he seems this week to say all that his little invention and spite can supply, and I may safely conclude he hath exhausted the subject ; he returns when I least dream of him, with stale malice and double dulness, to empty that quiver which he hath filled with arrows from abroad : but when his merciless auxiliaries are withdrawn, some to pleasure, others to debate how to retrieve, by caballing, what they lost by ill conduct ; or are amused by fawning at court ; or disabled by the disorders of a broken constitution ; this harmless person abateth very much of the poignancy of his satire.

Whilst I was thus reflecting upon this famous *monitor*, my printer brought me several letters, but not all of them wrote by myself to the *Examiner*, as the sagacious *Medley* suggesteth ; with his humble advice, that it would not

be

be amiss to print more frequently those letters I daily receive ; his old way of judging of the goodness by the sale, made him extol that paper, wherein I had lately obliged so many of my correspondents, protesting, that since the Roman triumph, or what he calls the *laurel crown* and Marcus Crassus, he had not seen a greater call for any particular *Examiner* : the reason seemed plain ; the underhand endeavours of my fellow-writers have succeeded ; the concurrent interest of many authors must be much more prevailing than that of one ; in consideration of which, I resolved upon that easy method of filling up a paper, and at the same time obliging a friend.

The first letter complaineth with justice of the great neglect I have been guilty of, in letting the *Medley* boast himself so long upon the clause in the *act of insolvency*, relating to the receivers of the revenue : he exhorteth me to read carefully the act at length ; where he assureth me, I shall find the requisite sanction included, although couched in other terms ; from whence he infers, that whatever cunning was requisite to the drawing up the said act, he needeth not be a Volpone to discover the intent : he beggeth me to take this matter into *examination*, which I promise him shortly to do, although to the abolishing my antagonist's witty advertisement, and confirming my own opinion, that a cunning knave will sooner commit a hundred crimes (although of as black a dye, that come within a hair's breadth of the gallows) than one clumsy one, by which he may be made to mount it.

The second letter is of such a length, that I am sorry it cannot be inserted here : I find it so ingenious, that I do not think fit to abridge it : the gentleman treateth, with a description very delicate, of the art of courts, or the means by which treacherous enemies are to a miracle transformed into faithful friends, professed admirers, and most obsequious flatterers ; with the great secret how to overcome that scrupulous modesty which deters some few from imitating the rest ; and embracing with open arms those whom, heretofore, they would have destroyed.

A third draweth up a very pathetic representation of the hardships inflicted upon a Reverend divine, late chaplain of Morden college upon Blackheath, for no other reason but

his being an honest *Tory*, and truly orthodox : and really the management seemeth so unfair, that if, upon an exact inquiry, I find the facts to be true ; such as their letting part of the said college to a coffeehouse ; reducing the number of twenty decayed merchants to twelve, and those dissenters ; although the founder obliged his trustees to no such limitation ; assigning twenty pounds a-year for each person, which is also reduced to twelve pounds *per annum* : if, I say, these facts prove true, I shall not fail to take a proper time to set them in the best lights I am able.

A fifth, with gilt paper, neat wax, and under cover, dateth his remonstrances from the drawing-room ; and in a courtly style, which I am not polite enough to imitate, setteth forth the vicissitude of human things, the change of manners and fashions ; seemeth with pleasure, yet regret, to call to memory an age, wherein possibly himself might flourish, in which the modes that now obtain, would not have been endured. In short, he appeareth extremely shocked at the conduct of two *great ladies*, who took the liberty to behave themselves in the Queen's presence, before a full court, as if they had been at ease in their own *ruelles*, with none but inferior persons about them. Reverence, distinction, decency, were made only for little people ; these ladies are above the punctilio of laws and customs : their own charms, the merit of their ancestors, their gratitude, greatness of soul, respect and duty to their sovereign, may support irregularity in their posterity.

I hope, the *Medley* will allow these passages may have been extracted out of *real* letters ; since I could as well have produced them for my own : be that as it will, I am glad he alloweth me to keep so good a correspondence with myself. His censure, if it be true, amounteth to no more than this ; that I am so far from being obliged to others for my matter, as to be forced to father my own upon those who will please to accept it ; wherein I differ as much from him, as one who stealeth money into his neighbour's pocket, doth from a rogue who picketh it out.

N^o 49. Thursday, July 19. 1711.

Avaritia fidem, probitatem, cæterasque bonas artes, subvertit, pro iis superbiam, crudelitatem, deos negligere, et omnia venalia habere, edocuit.

I Consider myself grown a very usefess writer; but it was no more than I foresaw, when I first began with the *Medley*: I knew my paper would insensibly dwindle into the thing himself and his party desired; and my time be lost in managing a dispute fruitless to the town, and insignificant even to ourselves: he is resolved not to be convinced, nor I to be perverted; he hath still his prompters, and I my readers; we both are where we began; he will yet continue to animadvert falsely; and I design henceforward to take no more notice of what he writes, than men are used to do by notorious liars; who, if they ever happen to speak truth, must bring other vouchers than themselves, to gain that belief which their continued course of falsity hath justly robbed them of from the public.

I had perhaps closed my papers with this, and took leave until the meeting of the parliament; pleased to leave affairs in so quick and promising a condition, had I not met with a very scarce manuscript out of a certain library: I believe the translation of part of it will not be unacceptable to the town. The author is that famous Italian, Giovanni Adollrandi, who made his particular request, that his works might never be printed: the manuscript I speak of is called, *Marcus Antonius*, wrote in the same sort of verse with the *Rinaldo of Tasso*, whose senior he was: the passage I would translate, is Fulvia's going to the house of Pride, to implore the succour of the goddess towards ruining the virtue of Agrippa, the favourite of Augustus: there are so many parallel incidents in the description, that I am tempted to believe our famous Spenser had read this poem, when he gave the world his fourth canto of the first book of his *Fairy Queen*.

The

The author introduceth Dolabella telling the history of the triumvirate; Lepidus's removal, Antony's behaviour in the east, and Octavius's government at Rome, when he had called Agrippa to assist him in the management of affairs; whose wisdom and great abilities proved destructive to the hopes that Antony's friends had entertained of seeing him sole arbitrator of the empire. Fulvia, the wife of Antony, is recorded by Plutarch to be a bold and enterprising woman; our poet entereth very well into her character; where Dolabella relates, that he beheld in his journey a stupendous palace, with a broad highway made bare by the number of passengers who hourly travelled that way; few of whom ever returned, but such whom poverty had reduced: the avenues were filled with beggars, who, although in rags and ruins, retained their former air and deportment: when they required your charity, it was still with a vaunting introduction of what they had been.

Approaching nearer, I saw, continued he, two busy persons, gaily habited, entertaining the croud that were in the broad road. These were Flattery and Folly. The first made herself acceptable by excess of compliance, and perpetual praises; for such was her industry, that she left not even *vice* without its applause; endearing to the wearers their very defects. Folly was no less assiduous in bespeaking credit of her sister, assuring her, that whatever was spoke by Flattery was indisputable. In this delightful conversation, the travellers passed happily on to the *palace*, where they were met by Vanity, who with much applause and ceremony, which they took for respect, conducted them into the house of Pride.

This dazzling unwieldy structure was built amidst the tears and groans of a people harassed with a lingering war, to gratify the ambition of a *subject*; while the *sovereign's palace* lay in *ashes*. It was dedicated, from the first foundation, to the goddess of Pride; the building excessive *costly*, but not *artful*; the *architect* seemed to consider how to be most profuse, and therefore neglected an advantageous eminence (made proper by nature) to build one a quarter of a mile short of it, at the vain expense of fifty millions of sesterces. There were to be seen stately
towers;

towers, noble *porticoes*, ample *piazzas*, and well-turned pillars, without one handsome room, unless you will call the kitchen and cellars such; which parts of the house happen to be of very little or no use to the *parsimonious* founder; a number of chambers, but none convenient; fine gardens without water; the whole building raised upon a sandy foundation; every breath from court, every blast puffed away some grains of that huge fleeting hill, upon which this palace was erected.

Here the goddess kept her court, within an inner chamber, into which passengers were conducted: she was seated upon a throne, raised under a *canopy* within an *alcove*; whoever gazed on her, seldom beheld any thing with approbation but themselves; her beauty was mixed with disdain, and well expressed her inward contempt for inferior objects; she never fixed her eyes upwards, unless when by intervals they were cast upon a *mirror* she held in her hand, which reflected back her own charms, the only image wherein she took delight.

My attention, as well as that of the whole assembly, was suddenly taken off from the goddess, and transferred to a lady, who with precipitation broke through the croud, and made directly to the throne: although past her meridian, her bloom was succeeded by so graceful an air, that youth could scarce make her more desirable: her fair hair was tucked under a *tiara* of jewels, made in the fashion of a coronet. If her beauty prepossessed us to her advantage, we were not less terrified in beholding the company she was in: on one side marched Envy, lashing her with whips and *snakes*; giving her to drink by intervals from a cup of wine mingled with gall and wormwood: her other supporter was Wrath, who continually tossed a flaming brand, directing her sight to a dagger which he held; his looks ghastly, his limbs trembling, his body half-exposed, the rest clothed with a robe stained with blood, and torn by his own fury, which was so fierce he could not restrain it sometimes from falling upon himself. His breath was incessantly applied to the lady's spleen and brain, from whence violent agonies and raging frenzies succeeded, as was evident by a *tofs* and motion as particular as wonderful.

She

She was attired in a crimson *robe* edged with *ermin*, and buckled with diamonds; her train borne by one who had formerly been her master of the ceremonies, and who, under the false title of *good establishment*, had introduced her with applause into the world; yet, having made the fortune of his votary, he was no longer solicitous to preserve appearances, but submitted to be called by his true name, *Ingratitude*.

The goddesses not only vouchsafed her a gracious look, but gave her hand to the lady, who was named Fulvia; after a tender embrace, she seated her by herself on the throne; called her conqueress in right of her husband; daughter, favourite, her representative, her other self; bid her name her distress, and depend upon her for relief.

Fulvia, with sighs, told the goddesses, that from a prospect of being the most happy person, she was become the most miserable: The laurels daily fading upon the brow of her absent lord; their partisans wholly removed from Augustus's favour; and, which was worse, Agrippa, a person of fatal virtue, destructive to the ambition of her party, was trusted with the sole management of affairs, notwithstanding their mighty cabals and hourly intrigues, to retrieve the power they had lost. Agrippa's reputation was mounted to such a pitch, that she could not behold and live; those two tormentors, Wrath and Envy, giving her no remission, until he were destroyed. She therefore besought the goddesses, since false reports, treachery, and assassinations had failed, that she would go herself, and take Avarice along with titles and wealth, to puff up his soul, and destroy his virtues; that he might fall, as herself and other favourites had done, by the sin of pride, and the love of riches.

To whom the goddesses replied: It is not the least of my troubles that I must tell you, your request is vain: I have attempted enlarging our empire, by the accession of so powerful a person as Agrippa; I applied the charms of wealth and luxury; I applied myself; but he is more abstemious, more sedate than before: I beheld the hateful goddesses of Virtue incircling him with her protecting wings; I heard her tell him, she would direct his steps and never forsake him; that the empire should flourish at

its greatest height under his administration; that Pride should be defeated, Avarice return baffled and ashamed; his hoards inviolable: that the uprightness of his manners, his extensive soul and vast capacity, should make his a name, which the race of favourites for time immemorial should think it their glory to be called by: whereas history had not hitherto delivered down one, but where the parallel would be in some parts an injustice to his character; as if unbounded power and solid virtue had been irreconcilable until met in Agrippa.

But, my beloved daughter, that virtue we cannot corrupt, may yet be eclipsed; we will cause distrust and impatience to enter into the minds of his party; they shall fear what they ought to reverence: those prodigious qualifications that distinguish Agrippa, may be turned against him; whilst his very foes admire his abilities, we will make his friends miscall his wisdom, *cunning*. Although he be incessantly working for the good of the empire, they shall be hoodwinked to those advantages. Neither new seas explored, nor countries discovered and subdued; the heavy debts of the empire discharged, credit restored, peace brought home to their dwelling; trade secure and flourishing; shall overcome those suspicions and bad impressions we will make upon the people. Your *faction*, vigilant and bold, shall disperse false reports; Antony's zeal must languish; let him attempt no farther for the good of the empire, but his own: those two demons that haunt you shall be appeased; Revenge be satiated; offer upon his altars, and supplicate the goddesses of Discord, that she may disappear from among you, and more effectually possess your enemies.

N^o 50. Thursday, July 26. 1711.

*Sed nos immensum spatiis confecimus æquor,
Et jam tempus equum fumantia solvere colla.*

NOW that I have completed the number of my papers, and, for the space of a year, done my country
what

what service lay in the power of an honest, although concealed pen; I shall take my leave of the town, with particular thanks for its favour; and some acknowledgment to the *Medley*, for so constantly explaining what he thought my meaning in any dark allusions or allegories; and retire myself from the fatigue of politics and state-reflections, until some more urgent occasion again call forth my endeavours.

It is very difficult, in an interested world, for any one to be thought free from those views that influence others; there are so few persons content to sacrifice their own good to that of the public, that I do not wonder to have a wrong interpretation put upon my labours; and myself, although entirely otherwise, accused as directing them to some mercenary end; and full of the desire of making my fortune, by application to the prevailing party: but let such who are my accusers remember, that this paper was begun while yet the *late ministry* were at the helm, and nothing but their mismanagement to prognosticate their loss of power.

To those who have complained, that my writings were not always equal, the spirit the same, or the matter so entertaining; let such begin to consider, my business was to *instruct*; I would not descend to *divert*: I was neither a Plautus, nor a Moliere; I did not so much as pretend to *wit*, much less *buffoonery*: I went not in pursuit of a laugh, but confined myself to one subject, and that a very serious one. How extreme difficult it is to succeed often upon the like topic, I leave to the consideration of the judicious; who know how hard it is to vary the same discourse, and admit of frequent repetition, without being cloyed; with which I have no reason to tax my readers; since the printer telleth me, the sale of my paper is not at all diminished; or its reputation fallen; which, I must confess, were temptation enough for me to continue it, if I had mercenary views, or were not the end I proposed already answered; which maketh me chuse, although perhaps not quite so civilly, to rise myself, and leave my guests with an appetite for more, rather than stay till they should call to take away.

And, notwithstanding the charge that hath so often
been

been brought against me, with an intent to wound *great men* through my side; of my being a contemptible hireling, and a little mercenary fellow without probity or principles; one whose actions were directed by others, from whence the machine talked and moved, as conducted by higher hands: I solemnly declare, I am still as much unknown to the leaders of our own party, as to the others; and very likely to remain so, as long as I please myself; notwithstanding the wise remarks of the *Observer*, and the guesses made by the judicious *Medley*.

Among the many pretenders in this town, you can hardly produce me one, who will not undertake to discover and point out the difference of style, and manner of thinking, peculiar to the several men of wit: this pamphlet is certainly from such a hand; they know his manner perfectly: that paper of verses is infallibly of such a poet, no man in England could write it but he; and this sometimes even upon the first essay of an author. I, among the rest, used to determine formerly at the same rate, but shall be more cautious for the future; having seen the world and myself so often and so wretchedly mistaken. How many fathers has this paper of mine been ascribed to! Among all the men of wit, who are in the interest of the present ministry, I know not one who hath escaped some report or suspicion of being the author. The *Medley* hath guessed round; and from his skill in that part of learning, called *dog's logic*, thought he would infallibly hit upon it at last. Thus he hath done what he would have us think is an injury to several innocent persons; and if the *Examiner* be a stupid, false, and slanderous paper, as he weekly affirms; I think he is bound in conscience and common justice, to repair the injury he hath done to the reputation of those worthy persons he hath falsely intitled it to; and who have never given him the least provocation for any such calumny.

The judicious reader cannot but observe how weak that cause must be, which the joint endeavours of their party have not been able to defend, against an unknown person, who hath had nothing but *naked truth* to oppose to whole armies of complicated falsehoods and malice: yet, supported by the goodness of the cause, I have waded

through seas of scurrility, without being polluted by any of that filth they have incessantly cast at me. I have neither misrepresented persons nor things; nay, out of tenderness have often forbore to shew their weakest side. I appeal to all impartial men, whether time hath not discovered more abuses in the management of the late ministry, than the *Examiner* could expose? The facts are now so obvious and uncontroverted, that I presume there is no need of a *monitor* to point out those things, to which every man is become capable of directing himself.

Of all the doubtful steps that I have taken in the conduct of this design; there is none for which I so much blame myself, as first descending to take notice and talk to those wretched adversaries that have weekly fought against me; it was putting myself upon a level with such whose designs and mine were entirely opposite: I was fired by the love of my country, and that noble ardour which conducteth us through a thousand difficulties in the pursuit of justice: my attempt was to *discover* abuses, theirs to *conceal* them; I pursued truth, they openly adhered to falsehood; my pen was valued for its sincerity, theirs despised for dissingenuity; and yet I was so weak to enter the lists, merely to satisfy those friends who became uneasy at their not being opposed, and could not account for my neglect: a fault many have been guilty of, in consideration of others, although against a man's better sense and reasoning; as I could instance in several things, and particularly in one example out of Plutarch; if the comparison may not be thought too great a presumption: it is that of Pompey the Great, who ventured a battle with Cæsar, when it was not his interest; *merely because he was a man of that honour and modesty, he could not bear a reproach; neither would he disoblige his friends; but broke his own measures, and forsook his prudent resolutions, to follow their vain hope and desire.* How much more commendable was the constancy of Phocion, who, when the Athenians urged him at an unreasonable time to fall upon the enemy, peremptorily refused; and being upbraided by them with cowardice and pusillanimity, told them, *Gentlemen, we understand one another*

another very well; you cannot make me valiant at this time, nor I you wise!

But it is time to have done with such worthless combatants: if I have not foiled them, I am certain they have not hurt me, any otherwise than in my own opinion, for attempting to engage them. I shall conclude with observing the beauty of that prospect which lieth before me, and for which I congratulate with all my countrymen; the security to our religion and happy constitution, under our most pious Queen, her excellent parliament, and able ministry; which to speak of, one by one, would be a volume, not a sheet. Methinks I behold the younger Cato in Mr St John *; all that love for his country, that contempt of danger, and greatness of soul, of whom it was said, *It was not for honour or riches, nor rashly, or by chance, that he engaged himself in the affairs of state; but he undertook the service of the public, as the proper business of an honest man; and therefore he thought himself obliged to be as diligent for the good of that, as a bee for the preservation of her hive.*

By our well-governed strength at home, we are now beginning to be truly formidable to our enemies abroad: France was never so busy in searching expedients that may incline towards a peace; they find it is become their interest to be sincere; nothing but the unexpected death of the Emperor, and that distracted state of northern affairs, which at this time threateneth a breach in the confederacy; and the seeds of which mischief have been long sown, could prevent our finding the speedy effects of it. All but those who are wilfully blind, and bigotted to a party, plainly see the advantage of the change that hath been made; although considering the circumstances of a tedious war, I am so far willing to comply with some gentlemen, as to admit there was a hazard in it, inasmuch as a *civil war is worse than any tyranny*: from whence I take leave to hope, we shall not easily repeat the danger; and since all changes are not good, let us change no more.

* Secretary of State, created Lord Viscount Bolingbroke.

•• The *Examiners* were written in defence of the new administration,
K k 2

ministration, and the particular revolutions at court, which had introduced the Earl of Oxford, and had displaced the Earl of Godolphin and his friends.

Many of Swift's *Examiners* are personally aimed at the General [the Duke of Marlborough]. In a free country, the power of a general is always to be feared. The greater his military capacity, or the more successful his arms, in the greater danger are the liberties of the people. On this maxim Swift proceeded; and while he was writing in defence of the commonwealth, he had an opportunity of giving a loose to his own severity; of which the *house of Pride*, and several other allegorical essays, are very spirited examples.

But I am fettered in my animadversions on these papers. The present times, and the honour which I bear to many noble families, descended from persons mentioned in the *Examiners*, make me willing to take as slight notice as possible even of the wittiest passages in those papers, because many of those passages arise from personal reflections, or party-sarcasms. In general, the several points relating to the national debt, (alas! how increased since the year 1710!), the too long continuance of the war, and other public topics of complaint, are melancholy truths, justly becoming the pen of a man who loves his country.

Within these last forty years, the political treatises have been so numerous, so various, so local, and so temporary, that each new pamphlet has succeeded its predecessor, like a youthful son to an ancient father, amidst a multiplicity of followers, admirers, and dependents; whilst the antiquated sire having *strutted and feigned his hour upon the stage, is heard no more*, but lies silent, and almost entirely forgotten, except by a few friends and contemporaries, who accidentally remember some of his just observations, or prophetic aphorisms, which they have lived to see accomplished. Thus has it fared, even in my time, with the *Examiners*, the *Freeholders*, and the *Craftsman*. And the same fate will attend most writings of that sort; which being framed to serve particular views, fulfil the purport of their creation, and then perish: while works of a more liberal and diffusive kind are acceptable to all persons, and all times; and may assume to themselves a certain prospect of surviving to the latest posterity.

But when a young gentleman enters into the commerce of life, he will be obliged, in his own defence, to look into every thing that has been written upon political subjects. In England, a man cannot keep up a conversation without being well versed in politics. In whatever other point of learning he may be deficient, he certainly must not appear superficial in state-affairs. He must chuse his party; and he must stick to the choice. *Non revocare gradum*, must be his motto; and Heaven forgive such an one, if the *gradus* now and then enforces him to act against self-conviction.

If party, and the consequences of it, had arisen to that height among the Romans and Grecians, as it has risen of late years

years among the English, their poets would probably have added her to the three furies, and would have placed her in hell, as a fit companion for Tisiphone, Megara, and Alesto; from whence, according to their description, she might have made excursions upon earth, only with an intention to destroy, confound, mislead, and disunite mankind.

It is true, that all countries have their parties and their factions. But there is a certain contagious distemper of this sort, so peculiar to the British islands, that, I believe, it is unknown to every other part of the world. It increases our natural gloom, and it makes us so averse to each other, that it keeps men of the best morals, and most social inclinations, in one continual state of warfare and opposition. Must not the source of this malady arise rather from the heart, than from the head? from the different operations of our passions, than of our reason?

*Furoræ cæcus, an rapit vis acrior,
An culpa?*

Swift, a man of violent passions, was, in consequence of those passions, violent in his party. But as his capacity and genius were so extraordinary and extensive, even his party-writings carry with them dignity and instruction. And in that light one should read the *Examiners*, where he will find a nervous style, a clear diction, and great knowledge of the true landed interest of England. *Orrery*.

The house of Pride, in the *Examiner*, N^o 49. was not the production of Dr Swift; but was one of the visions of Mrs Manley, who wrote the *Atolantis*. Swift.

The last six *Examiners* were not wrote by Dr Swift, as appears from the notes at N^o 13. But as they had got a place in all former editions of the Dean's works, Hawkesworth's excepted, we were advised to retain them in the present edition.

Some ADVICE humbly offered to the Mem-
bers of the OCTOBER CLUB.

In a Letter from a Person of Honour.

Written in the year 1711.

THE PUBLISHER'S PREFACE.

ABOUT the year, when her late Majesty of blessed memory thought proper to change her ministry, and brought in Mr Harley, Mr St John, Sir Simon Harcourt, and some others; the first of these being made an Earl and Lord Treasurer, he was soon after blamed by his friends for not making a general sweep of all the *Whigs*, as the latter did of their adversaries upon her Majesty's death, when they came into power. At that time a great number of parliament-men, amounting to above two hundred, grew so warm upon the slowness of the Treasurer in this part, that they formed themselves into a body under the name of the *October Club*, and had many meetings to consult upon some methods that might spur on those in power, so that they might make a quicker dispatch in removing all of the *Whig* leaven from the employments they still possessed. To prevent the ill consequences of this discontent among so many worthy members, the rest of the ministry joined with the Treasurer partly to pacify, and partly to divide those, who were in greater haste than moderate men thought convenient. It was well known, that the supposed author met a considerable number of this club in a public house, where he convinced them very plainly of the Treasurer's sincerity, with many of those very reasons which are urged in the following discourse, besides some others, which were not so proper to appear at that time in print.

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The Treasurer alledged in his defence, that such a treatment would not consist with prudence, because there were many employments to be bestowed, which required skill and practice; that several gentlemen who possessed them, had been long versed, very loyal to her Majesty, had never been violent party-men, and were ready to fall into all honest measures for the service of their Queen and country. But however, as offices became vacant, he would humbly recommend to her Majesty such gentlemen, whose principles with regard both to church and state his friends would approve of, and he would be ready to accept their recommendations. Thus the Earl proceeded in procuring employments for those who deserved them by their honesty and abilities to execute them; which I confess to have been a singularity not very likely to be imitated. However, the gentlemen of this club still continued uneasy that no quicker progress was made in removals, until those who were least violent began to soften a little, or by dividing them the whole affair dropped. During this difficulty we have been assured, that the following discourse was very seasonably published with great success, shewing the difficulties that the Earl of Oxford lay under, and his real desire, that all persons in employment should be truly loyal churchmen, zealous for her Majesty's honour and safety, as well as for the succession in the house of Hanover, if the Queen should happen to die without issue. This discourse having been published about the year 1711, and many of the facts forgotten, would not have been generally understood without some explanation, which we have now endeavoured to give, because it seems a point of history too material to be lost. We owe this piece of intelligence to an intimate of the supposed author.

Some ADVICE humbly offered to the Members of the OCTOBER CLUB*.

GENTLEMEN,

SINCE the first institution of your society, I have always thought you capable of the greatest things. Such a number of persons, members of parliament, true lovers of our constitution in church and state, meeting at certain times, and mixing business and conversation together, without the forms and constraint necessary to be observed in public assemblies, must very much improve each other's understanding, correct and fix your judgment, and prepare yourselves against any designs of the opposite party. Upon the opening of this session an incident hath happened,

* This pamphlet was written in the year 1711, and is so applicable to that particular time. that I shall not make any animadversions upon it. From political tracts, the true history of England is to be deduced: and if foreigners were to enter into that branch of reading, they might frame a more distinct notion of our legislature, and of our manners, than from more laboured and connected accounts of our constitution. In such a view, I am apt to think, that, at first sight, they must behold us a disunited, discontented, and seemingly an unsteady people. But I am certain, that, upon a more minute disquisition, they must find in us a fixed, and, I may say, an innate love of liberty, variegated, and perhaps sometimes erroneous in its progress, but constant and unwearied in the pursuit of that glorious end. What people upon earth can desire a more exalted, or a more distinguished character? To speak in the dialect of the Heathen world, our errors are the errors of men, our principles are the principles of gods. *Orrery.*

Perhaps that clear, impartial account of the indigested schemes of the October club, as it fell accidentally from the pen of Dr Swift, may throw some additional light upon the history of that æra, which, it must be confessed, is very greatly wanted: and at the same time be a caution to all worthy and sober men, who principally intend the good of their country, in all their reasonings

pened, to provide against the consequences whereof will require your utmost vigilance and application. All this last summer the enemy was working under ground, and laying their train; they gradually became more frequent and bold in their pamphlets and papers, while those on our side were dropped, as if we had no farther occasion for them. Some time before an opportunity fell into their hands, which they have cultivated ever since; and thereby have endeavoured in some sort to turn those arts against us, which had been so effectually employed to their ruin: a plain demonstration of their superior skill at intrigue; to make a stratagem succeed a second time, and this even against those who first tried it upon them. I know not whether this opportunity I have mentioned could have been prevented by any care without straining a very *tender point*, which those chiefly concerned avoided by all means, because it might seem a counterpart of what they had so much condemned in their predecessors; although it is cer-

ings and debates, not violently to oppose and distress any ministry whatsoever, who desire to act with temper and moderation upon constitutional principles. His account of them runs in these terms. "We are plagued with an October club, that is, a set of
 "above an hundred parliament-men of the country, who drink
 "October beer at home, and meet every evening at a tavern
 "near the parliament, to consult affairs, and drive things on to
 "extremes against the Whigs; to call the old ministry to account, and get off five or six heads. The ministry seem not
 "to regard them; yet one of them in confidence told me, that
 "there must be something thought on to settle things better.
 "I'll tell you one great state-secret. The Queen, sensible how
 "much she was governed by the late ministry, runs a little into
 "the other extreme; and is jealous in that point even of those
 "who got her out of the other's hands. The ministry is for
 "gentler measures, and the other Tories for more violent. Lord
 "Rivers talking to me the other day, cursed the paper called
 "the *Examiner*, for speaking civilly of the Duke of Marlborough.
 "This I happened to talk of to the Secretary, who
 "blamed the warmth of that Lord and some others; and swore,
 "that if their advice were followed, they would be blown up in
 "twenty-four hours. And I have reason to think, that they
 "will endeavour to prevail on the Queen, to put her affairs more
 "in the hands of a ministry than she does at present: and there
 "are, I believe, two men thought on; one of them you have
 "often met the name of in my letters." *Swift's letter to Stella,*
Feb. 18. 1710. Swift.

tain the two cases were widely different ; and if policy had once got the better of good nature, all had been safe, for there was no other danger in view : but the consequences of this were foreseen from the beginning ; and those who *kept the watch* had early warning of it. It would have been a masterpiece of prudence in this case to have made a *friend of an enemy*. But whether that were possible to be compassed, or whether it were ever attempted, is now too late to inquire. All accommodation was rendered desperate by an unlucky proceeding some months ago at Windsor, which was a declaration of war too frank and generous for that situation of affairs ; and I am told, was not approved by a certain great minister. It was obvious to suppose, that in a particular, where the honour and interest of a *husband* were so closely united with those of a *wife*, he might be sure of her utmost endeavours for his protection, although she neither loved nor esteemed him. The danger of losing power, favour, profit, and a shelter from *domestic tyranny*, were strong incitements to stir up a working brain *early* practised in all the arts of intriguing. Neither is it safe to count upon the weakness of any man's understanding, who is thoroughly possessed with the spirit of revenge to sharpen his invention : nothing else is required besides *obsequiousness* and *assiduity* ; which, as they are often the talents of those who have no better, so they are apt to make impressions upon the *best and greatest minds*.

It was no small advantage to the *designing party*, that, since the adventure at Windsor, the *person on whom we so much depend* was long absent by sickness ; which hindered him from pursuing those measures that ministers are in prudence forced to take to defend their country and themselves against an irritated faction. The *negotiators* on the other side improved this favourable conjuncture to the utmost ; and by an unparalleled boldness, accompanied with many falsehoods, persuaded certain lords, (who were already in the same principle, but were afraid of making a wrong step, lest it should *lead them out of their coaches into the dirt*), that voting in appearance against the court would be the safest course to avoid the danger they most apprehended, which was that of losing their pensions ; and their opinions, when produced, would by seemingly
contradicting

contradicting their interest have an appearance of virtue into the bargain. This, with some arguments of more *immediate power*, went far in producing that strange unexpected turn we have so lately seen, and from which our adversaries reckoned upon such wonderful effects; and some of them, particularly my Lord Chief Justice, began to act as if all were already in their power.

But although the more immediate causes of this desertion were what I have above related, yet I am apt to think, it would hardly have been attempted, or at least not succeeded, but for a prevailing opinion, that the church-party and the ministers had different views, or at least were not so firmly united as they ought to have been. It was commonly said, and I suppose not without some ground of truth, that many gentlemen of your club were discontented to find so *little done*; that they thought it looked as if people were *not in earnest*; that they expected to see a *thorough change* with respect to employments; and although every man could not be provided for, yet when all places were filled with persons of good principles, there would be fewer complaints and less danger from the other party; that this change was hoped for all last summer, and even to the opening of the session, yet nothing done. On the other hand, it was urged by some in favour of the ministry, that it was impossible to find employments for one *pretender* in twenty; and therefore in gratifying one nineteen would be disoblged; but while all had leave to hope, they would all endeavour to deserve: but this again was esteemed a very shallow policy, which was too easily seen through, must soon come to an end, and would cause a general discontent; with twenty other objections to which it was liable: and indeed, considering the short life of ministers in our climate, it was with some reason thought a little hard, that those for whom any employment was intended, should by such a delay be probably deprived of half their benefit; not to mention, that a ministry is best confirmed, when all inferior officers are in its interest.

I have set this cause of complaint in the strongest light, although my design is to endeavour that it should have no manner of weight with you, as I am confident our adversaries

faries counted upon, and do still expect to find mighty advantages by it.

But it is necessary to say something to this objection, which in all appearance lieth so hard upon the present ministry. What shall I offer upon so tender a point? How shall I convey an answer that none will apprehend, except those for whom I intend it? I have often pitied the condition of great ministers upon several accounts; but never so much upon any, as when their duty obliges them to bear the blame and envy of actions, for which they will not be answerable in the next world, although they dare not convince the present, until it is too late. This letter is sent you, *Gentlemen*, from no mean hand, nor from a person uninformed, although for the rest as little concerned in point of interest for any change of ministry, as most others of his fellow-subjects. I may therefore assume so much to myself, as to desire you would depend upon it, that a short time will make manifest, how little the defect you complain of ought to lie at *that door*, where your enemies would be glad to see you place it. The wisest man, who is not very near the spring of affairs, but views them only in their issues and events, will be apt to fix applauses and reproaches in the wrong place; which is the true cause of a weakness that I never yet knew great ministers without; I mean their being deaf to all advice: for if a person of the best understanding offers his opinion in a point, where he is not master of all the circumstances, (which perhaps are not to be told), it is a hundred to one but he runs into an absurdity: from whence it is, that ministers falsely conclude themselves to be equally wiser than others in general things, where the common reason of mankind ought to be the judge, and is probably less biassed than theirs. I have known a great man of excellent parts blindly pursue a point of no importance, against the advice of every friend he had, until it ended in his ruin. I have seen great abilities rendered utterly useless by unaccountable and unnecessary delay, and by difficulty of access, by which a thousand opportunities are suffered to escape. I have observed the *strongest shoulders* to sink under too great a load of business, for want of dividing a due proportion among others. These and more that might be

be named, are obvious failings, which every rational man may be allowed to discern, as well as lament ; and wherein the wisest minister may receive advice from others of inferior understanding. But in those actions where we are not thoroughly informed of all the motives and circumstances, it is hardly possible that our judgment should not be mistaken. I have often been one of the company, where we have all blamed a measure taken, which hath afterwards proved the only one that could possibly have succeeded. Nay, I have known those very men who have formerly been in the secret of affairs, when a new set of people hath come in, offering their refinements and conjectures in a very plausible manner upon what was passing, and widely err in all they advanced.

Whatever occasions may have been given for complaints, that *enough hath not been done*, those complaints should not be carried so far as to make us *forget what hath been done*, which at first was a great deal more than we hoped or thought practicable ; and you may be assured, that so much courage and address were not employed in the beginning of so great a work without a resolution of carrying it through, as fast as opportunities would offer. Any of the most sanguine gentlemen in your club would gladly have compounded two years ago to have been assured of seeing affairs in the present situation : it is principally to the abilities of *one great man*, that you, *Gentlemen*, owe the happiness of meeting together to cultivate good principles, and form yourselves into a body for defending your country against a restless and dangerous faction. It is to the *same* we all owe that mighty change in the most important posts of the kingdom ; that we see the sacred person of our prince encompassed by those whom we ourselves would have chosen, if it had been left to our power : and if every thing besides that you could wish hath not been hitherto done, you will be but just to impute it to some powerful although *unknown impediments*, wherein the ministry is more to be lamented than blamed. But there is good reason to hope from the vigorous proceedings of the court, that these *impediments* will in a short time effectually be removed : and one great motive to hasten the removal of them will doubtless be the reflection upon those dangerous

consequences, which had like to have ensued upon not removing them before. Besides, after so plain and formidable a conviction that mild and moderate methods meet with no other reception or return than to serve as opportunities to the insatiable malice of an enemy; power will awake to vindicate itself, and disarm its opposers, at least of all *offensive weapons*.

Consider, if you please, how hard beset the present ministry hath been on every side: by the impossibility of carrying on the war any longer without taking the most desperate courses; or of recovering Spain from the house of Bourbon, although we could continue it many years longer: by the clamours of a faction against any peace without that condition, which the most knowing among themselves allowed to be impracticable; by the secret cabals of foreign ministers, who have endeavoured to inflame our people, and spirit up a sinking faction to blast all our endeavours for peace with those popular reproaches of France and the pretender; not to mention the danger they have been in from private *insinuations of such a nature* as it was almost impossible to fence against. These clouds now begin to blow over, and those who *are at the helm* will have leisure to look about them, and complete what yet remains to be done.

That confederate body, which now makes up the adverse party, consisteth of an union so monstrous and unnatural, that in a little time it must of necessity fall to pieces. The *Dissenters* with reason think themselves betrayed and sold by their *brethren*. What they have been told, that the present *bill* against *occasional conformity* was to prevent a greater evil, is an excuse too gross to pass; and if any other profound refinement were meant, it is now come to nothing. The remaining sections of the party have no other tie, but that of an inveterate hatred and rancour against those in power, without agreeing in any other common interest, not cemented by principle or personal friendship: I speak particularly of their leaders; and although I know that court-enmities are as inconstant as its friendships, yet from the difference of tempers and principle, as well as the scars remaining of former animosities, I am persuaded their league will not be of long continuance:

I know several of them, who will never pardon those with whom they are now in confederacy; and when once they see the present ministry thoroughly fixed, they will grow weary of *hunting upon a cold scent*, or playing a *desperate game*, and crumble away.

On the other side, while the malice of that party continues in vigour, while they yet feel the bruises of their fall, which pain them afresh since their late *disappointment*, they will leave no arts untried to recover themselves; and it behoves all who have any regard for the safety of the Queen or her kingdom, to join unanimously against an adversary, who will return full fraught with vengeance upon the first opportunity that shall offer: and this perhaps is more to be regarded, because that party seem yet to have a reserve of hope in the *same quarter from whence their last reinforcement came*. Neither can any thing cultivate this hope of theirs so much as a disagreement among ourselves founded upon a jealousy of the ministry, who I think need no better a testimony of their good intentions, than the incessant rage of the party-leaders against them.

There is one fault which both sides are apt to charge upon themselves, and very generously commend their adversaries for the contrary virtue. The *Tories* acknowledge, that the *Whigs* out-did them in rewarding their friends, and adhering to each other: the *Whigs* allow the same to the *Tories*. I am apt to think, that the former may a little excel the latter in this point; for, doubtless, the *Tories* are less vindictive of the two; and whoever is remiss in *punishing*, will probably be so in *rewarding*; although at the same time I well remember the clamours often raised during the reign of that party against the leaders, by those who thought their merits were not rewarded; and they had reason on their side, because it is no doubt a misfortune to forfeit honour and conscience for nothing: but surely the case is very different at this time, when whoever adheres to the administration, doth service to God, his prince, and his country, as well as contributes to his own private interest and safety.

But if the *Whig* leaders were more grateful in rewarding their friends, it must be avowed likewise, that the bulk of them was in general more zealous for the service

of their party, even when abstracted from any private advantage, as might be observed in a thousand instances; for which I would likewise commend them, if it were not natural for mankind to be more *violent in an ill cause* than a good one.

The perpetual discord of factions, with several changes of late years in the very nature of our government, have controlled many maxims among us. The *court* and *country party*, which used to be the old division, seems now to be ceased, or suspended for better times and worse *princes*. The Queen and ministry are at this time fully in the true interest of the kingdom; and therefore the *court* and *country* are of a side; and the *Whigs*, who originally were of the latter, are now of neither, but an independent faction, nursed up by the necessities or mistakes of a late *good, although unexperienced prince*. *Court* and *country* ought therefore to join their forces against these common enemies, until they are entirely dispersed and disabled. It is enough to arm ourselves against them, when we consider that the greatest misfortunes which can befall the nation, are what would most answer their interest and their wishes; a perpetual war increases their money, breaks and beggars their *landed enemies*. The ruin of the church will please the *Dissenters*, *Deists*, and *Socinians*, whereof the body of their party consists. A *commonwealth*, or a *protector*, would gratify the *republican principles* of some, and the ambition of others among them.

I would infer from hence, that no discontents of an inferior nature, such, I mean, as I have already mentioned, should be carried so far as to give any ill impression of the present ministry. If all things have not been hitherto done as you, *Gentlemen*, could reasonably wish, it can be imputed only to the *secret instruments* of that faction. The truth of this hath appeared from some late incidents, more visibly than formerly. Neither do I believe that any one will now make a doubt, whether a *certain person* be in *earnest*, after the united and avowed endeavours of a whole party to strike directly at his head.

When it happens, by some private cross intrigues, that a great man hath not the power which is thought due to his

his station, he will however probably desire the reputation of it, without which he neither can preserve the dignity, nor hardly go through the common business of his place; yet is it that reputation to which he owes all the envy and hatred of others, as well as his own disquiets. Mean time his expecting friends impute all their disappointments to some deep design, or to his defect of goodwill; and his enemies are sure to cry up his excess of power, especially in those points where they are confident it is most shortened. A minister in this difficult case is sometimes forced to preserve his credit by forbearing what *is* in his power, for fear of discovering how far the limits extend of what is *not*; or perhaps for fear of shewing an inclination contrary to that of his master. Yet all this while he lies under the reproach of *delay*, *unsteadiness*, or *want of sincerity*. So that there are many inconveniencies and dangers either in discovering or concealing the want of power. Neither is it hard to conceive, that ministers may happen to suffer for the *sins of their predecessors*, who, by their great abuses and monopolies of power and favour, have taught princes to be more thrifty for the future in the distribution of both. And as in common life, whoever hath been long confined is very fond of his liberty, and will not easily endure the very appearance of restraint, even from those who have been the instruments of setting him free; so it is with the recovery of power, which is usually attended with an undistinguished jealousy, lest it should be again invaded. In such a juncture I cannot discover, why a wise and honest man should venture to place himself at the head of affairs upon any other regard than the safety of his country, and the advice of Socrates, to *prevent an ill man from coming in*.

Upon the whole, I do not see any one ground of suspicion or dislike, which you, *Gentlemen*, or others, who wish well to their country, may have entertained about persons or proceedings, but what may probably be misapprehended even by those who think they have the best information. Nay, I will venture to go one step farther, by adding, that although it may not be prudent to speak out upon this occasion; yet whoever will reason impartially upon the whole state of affairs, must entirely acquit the ministry of that delay

lay and neutrality, which have been laid to their charge. Or suppose some small part of this accusation were true, (which I positively know to be otherwise, whereof the world will soon be convinced), yet the consequences of any resentment at this time must either be none at all, or the most fatal that can be imagined; for if the present ministry be made so uneasy, that a change be thought necessary, things will return of course into the old hands of those whose *little fingers will be found heavier than their predecessors loins*. The *Whig faction* is so dexterous at corrupting, and the people so susceptible of it, that you cannot be ignorant how easy it will be after such a turn of affairs, upon a new election, to procure a majority against you. They will resume their power with a spirit like that of Marius or Sylla, or the last triumvirate; and those ministers who have been most censured for too much hesitation, will fall the first sacrifices to their vengeance: but these are the smallest mischiefs to be apprehended from such returning exiles. What security can a prince hope for his person, or his crown, or even for the monarchy itself? He must expect to see his best friends brought to the scaffold for *asserting his rights*; to see his *prerogative* trampled on, and his *treasure* applied to *feed the avarice of those who make themselves his keepers*; to hear himself treated with insolence and contempt; to have his *family purged at pleasure* by their humour and malice; and to retain even the name and shadow of a King no longer than his ephori shall think fit.

These are the inevitable consequences of such a change of affairs, as that inveterate party is now projecting; which will best be prevented by your firmly adhering to the present ministry, until this *domestic enemy* is out of all possibility of making head any more.

The End of the SECOND VOLUME.

11 JUL 68

